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THE LIFE OF JOHN DEE

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TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN
OF DR. THOMAS SMITH

BY

WM. ALEXR. AYTON

21824

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PREFACE.

From the earliest dawn of the history of the human race there have been special epochs when a great wave of what is called "Occult Science" seemed to be impelled upon the minds of mortals, awakening them to a sense of something higher than the ordinary routine of life. Such periods have culminated in some great advance in civilization and the beneficent temporary reign of Adepts. We need only refer to the ancient Aryan civilization, the Assyrian, the Babylonian, the Persian, the Egyptian, the Greek with its Eleusinian Mysteries, the Jewish, following the laws of Moses.

We have said "reign of Adepts." Moses was an Adept, an Initiate in the Mysteries of Egypt. Solomon was an Adept.

Volney has portrayed the "Ruin of Empires." The cause of their destruction was that the successors of the reigning Adepts had abused the great powers inherited from them, and, instead of the happiness conferred by the true Adepts, the people suffered and groaned under the miseries inflicted by despots and cruel tyrants.

In the earlier part of last century there was the rise of another wave of Occultism, beginning with Spiritualism. Mixed good and evil arose out of this beginning, and some of the risks of untrained communion with the unseen world which beset modern spiritualism are aptly illustrated in the life before us.

The spiritualistic movement might be regarded as a pioneer, being appropriately succeeded by the advent of the late Madame Blavatsky and the Theosophical Society in conjunction with Colonel Olcott. Their self-denying efforts have carried this wave to the remotest parts of India, renewing the interest of its intelligent natives in the wisdom and revelations contained in their long neglected ancient Scriptures, the Vedas, and leading the East to coalesce with the West in developing the Higher Powers which by gradual evolution will eventually efface the present miserable state of society, and "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."

This development of Man's Higher Powers is not without great dangers. It cuts both ways. A man by its means may become either a God or an Incarnation of evil. Madame Blavatsky several times cautioned me against putting in practice the directions contained in various books upon Yoga, which, she said, contained "blinds" and were misleading and fraught with disastrous consequences.

Dr. Dee was an eminent and melancholy example of the great dangers incurred by those who rush into the practice of any form of Occultism whilst retaining the egoism which is a part of the lower instincts of human nature. All who aspire to the knowledge and practice of Occultism should make themselves acquainted with the details of the life of Dr. Dee, so well narrated by the learned Dr. Smith. For this reason I have translated it from the original Latin.

Dr. Dee had attained to great knowledge in mathematics and was a most industrious student of, and proficient in, all Arts and Sciences. His life was at first pure and blameless, and he was respected and honoured by the learned of various countries, and was a special favourite of Queen Elizabeth.

From this high estate he fell to the lowest depths of degradation and charlatanry, because he indulged himself in the idea that he was selected above all others to receive communications from Spirits. He was unmindful of the old adage "*Quanto superiores simus tanto geramus summissius.*" This saying is really derived from the Adepts. We might give several instances of others who have erred in the same way and have suffered accordingly, but it would make this preface too long.

WM. ALEXR. AYTON.

THE LIFE OF JOHN DEE

AN ENGLISH MATHEMATICIAN

BY

THOMAS SMITH

DOCTOR OF SACRED THEOLOGY AND PRESBYTER
OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

LONDON:
AT DAVID MORTIER IN THE STREET CALLED THE STRAND
AT THE SIGN OF ERASMUS
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THE LIFE OF JOHN DEE,

AN ENGLISH MATHEMATICIAN.

John Dee first drew the breath of life at London on the 13th day of the month of July, at 4 o'clock, and 11 minutes p.m. in the year of the eternal incarnated Word 1527. His father was Roland Dee, an honourable man, and coming of a family sufficiently genteel, whose care, according to the affection implanted by nature, towards his own son, as well as his being a boy of great hope and good disposition, was chiefly bestowed in informing his mind with Greek and Latin literature. The curriculum of the studies in which boys are accustomed to be taught, being happily passed, partly at London, partly in Chelmsford in the County of Essex, he was entered by his most loving father in the 16th year of his age, at Cambridge, in the College dedicated to the memory of St. John the Evangelist, to be taught the higher Sciences, at the end of the year 1542.

Having put on the Academic gown, whether by the advice and warning of his friends or by his own will and virtue, and inflamed by a most ardent love of learning, at that dangerous age, mostly obnoxious and too much given to sloth and luxury, he was sufficiently aware that not without great industry could a great fame of learning be acquired ; with most persevering and, indeed, almost incredible labour, as if under the obligation of a sacred vow, he determined that by no pleasures, no blandishments, or by importunate invitations would he be dragged away. In perusing his books according to a plan prescribed in that Academy for instructing youth, under the care of a painstaking Tutor, he was content with the moderate sleep of four hours every night, and two hours for the time of dinner and supper, with other relaxations necessary to preserve life and health only interposed. The remaining eighteen hours, deducting therefrom the intervals for public prayers in the Chapel, at which he was bound to be present, with inviolable pertinacity he cheerfully devoted and consecrated to study.

After taking the degree of B.A., the same love of learning and persevering study remained, and already maturing with the judgment of a year, every kind of science from the encyclopædia, the whole of which, to be accurately embraced, he had found out by experience to far surpass human powers

Weighing the matter well in his mind, the advantage seemed to be to cultivate them more shortly, according to the conditions of his life, from a vehement natural inclination, which wisdom (having well weighed all the circumstances) more and more confirmed, he easily perceived that the Mathematical discipline was to be placed far above all others. The better and the more easily to attain this end, when few of our forefathers at that time were eminent in that respect—as being chiefly occupied in Theological disputations, or in defending the actions of the Crown against the usurpations of the Roman Court—in the month of May, 1547, he sailed from England into Belgium, in order to enter into friendship with certain great men, such as Gemma Frisio, Gerard Mercator, Gaspar à Mirica, Antonio Gava, and others learned in these sciences, that being helped by their advice, as to what was to be done by him in that race just to be run, he might more auspiciously understand. For, what was it not lawful to hope for a disciple of such an elevated disposition and powerful understanding from such masters? Nor was the success less than the expectations; yea, everything turned out according to his wishes. After some months, on his return to Cambridge, he brought with him the astronomical staff and ring, both of brass, recently made by him, and two large globes of Mercator, which afterwards he gave to the Library of the

College of the Holy Trinity for the use of the Fellows and Students. He indeed, for many years, gave himself up to the contemplation of the Celestial orbs, having made some thousands of observations, for the most part marked with the hours and minutes, which he arranged in ephemerides and note-books, also to investigating the motions and distances of the stars, and the powers and influences thence derived to this elementary world and the manners and fortunes of men ; chiefly, as it seems, being occupied in searching the fallacious and altogether uncertain conjectures, and adding to the study of the purer astronomy the idle stories of the astrologers, with which he was desperately in love, according to the bent of his genius.

But when King Henry VIII. had built in that Academy the magnificent College dedicated to the honour of the undivided Trinity, our Dee was considered worthy to be enrolled amongst the first Fellows, and soon after was appointed, in the same place, the second Prælector of the Greek language. Not long after he took pains to exhibit the Comedy of Aristophanes, whose title is Peace, in which a representation was made of a beetle flying to the Palace of Jupiter with a man carrying a basket, at the sight of which all present were astonished, and some, altogether ignorant of the mechanical art, spread reports as though Dee, being already initiated in the Magical Arts, had

effected that wonderful thing by the help of demons. So that from his youth, whether rightly or wrongly, he drew upon himself the evil report of Sorcery and Magic: of which the suspicion in the minds of many had reached such a height that by no excuse and defence, even by no sacred declaration against it, was he able to clear himself of it.

In the year 1548, crowned with the laurel of Master of Arts, he soon again left England, bidding farewell for ever to Cambridge. Whether he believed that he would make greater progress abroad in the abstruse sciences, after which he so diligently sought, or that, free from the censures and accusations of friends, as if he had given his endeavours to illicit arts, he was at liberty to do what he liked and would give effect to it with greater ease and less inconvenience, relying on himself alone and free from alien judgment and advice, or whether from other causes, is altogether uncertain. For from this time it appears to me to be very much like the truth, that Dee nourished vain hopes in his mind, although under the specious pretext that he at length at some time or other, would attain to what is scarcely ever given to mortals, that is to attain to pure truth, and the discovering the treasures of celestial wisdom, and thence from the study of the Mathematical Sciences, Physics, and Chemistry of penetrating into the secrets of Nature and the more profound secrets of natural

as of Divine things, and of introducing a new and that, manifestly, a Mystical Philosophy, which, as it were, was considered worthless and altogether to be repudiated, according to the then common opinion, and at length that he hoped to gain an advantage to himself, from the indulgence of a vain and altogether to be condemned curiosity amongst all, the habit of consulting him. The impiety of this purpose, he wished to hide from everyone's sight under the plausible pretext of the Mathematical Sciences, as though under a specious covering. No one well skilled in these things has denied that Dee deserved the praise of being a great mathematician, as his published works testify; in the meantime, to me, pondering carefully concerning him, and indeed with a serious mind, it is manifestly proved that that conjecture ought to be admitted as the key to the darkened senses of his mind, which he, with cunning self-deceit, cherished as being opened, which afterwards will more clearly appear.

In this mind, in the same year, having left his country, furnished with testimonial letters of the University of Cambridge, he went to the Academy of Louvaine, which was flourishing under men most skilled in all kinds of sciences, where, for a time having taken up his abode, displayed the wealth and gifts of his genius with crafty modesty and gained for himself a great fame for his learning,

being openly held in great honour (as in frequent letters) as though an oracle and as a new master of the more recondite wisdom, being consulted on all sides, where the fame of his admiration and praises was spread. For hither for the sake of seeing him there resorted noble men, Spaniards, Italians and others from the Court of Charles the the Fifth, at that time attended at Brussels by a most splendid retinue of Princes and Magnates. Indeed, they assembled in a not moderate number, whither his fame conveyed daily to most eager and most astonished ears about to experience that it had not exaggerated in this matter and whether it was to be lessened by his presence. Amongst others were conspicuous the Duke of Mantua and the Duke Ludovicus de la Cerda, afterwards distinguished by the title of Duke of Medina Cœli; but I must refrain from recounting all the names of the other ordinary persons desirous of entering the Temple of Dee, whom either his Cæsarean Majesty, or the desire of cultivating the Arts, had drawn into that region. Thus amongst some foreigners his praise was spread. Nor was he in less favour with his own English fellow countrymen dwelling also in Belgium, amongst whom was William Pickering, a most elegant young man, sprung from a noble family, and afterwards honoured with the knightly dignity, and notable in embassies in Gaul and Germany, who was

received into his house, inasmuch as he was a recompensed host, that he might with the greater convenience be taught the use of the Astronomer's staff, the Astrolabe and the Globes.

But since he had a versatile genius, for the sake of his mind and the mathematical studies being for a short time interrupted, he wished to explore the methods and rules of the Civil Law. This indeed he did with great success, as in solving some clashings of laws and in explaining many obscure and intricate laws, and was said to be happily engaged in clearing them up with a new light, which the Academy of Louvaine acknowledged by a public testimonial.

Having passed two years at Louvaine, straightway in the month of July, 1550, by a quick journey of four days, he hastened to Paris where every kind of good literature not long since introduced under the auspices, patronage and munificence of Francis the First, King of France, very greatly flourished. But in that most compact crowd of students assembling thither from almost all quarters of the Christian World, his advent could not long be concealed, whether through a vain itching of showing through himself the Science of the secrets of Nature, and the inner Philosophy, hitherto unknown, which he had arrogated to himself, or whether easily overcome by the importunate prayers of those of the same nationality, that

thence a greater honour might be derived to their common country, he undertook, gratis, publicly to explain and interpret by himself the Elements of the Geometry of Euclid; but evidently by a new method, *i.e.*, Mathematically, Physcially and Pythagorically. But, as soon as he made it known that Lectures on this subject would shortly be given in the Rhemensian College, such was the rush of auditors, that the School did not suffice to hold them; the rest shut out by the narrowness of the place, climbed to the windows as far as the hall, lest they should be deprived of that gratification. These, whether struck by the greatness, or by the wonderful novelty of the things which he spoke with a voluble utterance and an easy flow of words and, indeed, as it seems, with the greatest confidence, with one mind presaged the greatest of all sorts of things, from these most praiseworthy beginnings (for he had not as yet completed his twenty-fourth year) being steadfast in a good and firm hope, that he would surpass others habitually devoted to the maxims of the ancient Philosophy already obsolete. Because that in explaining the definitions of Euclid, representing to the eyes that which had been possible to be perceived solely by the intellect and imagination, exquisitely and accurately, he produced a greater astonishment in their minds than he had formerly done at his own University of Cambridge by the

artifice of the flying beetle. Hence many, excelling in learning and capacity, when from these frequent public instructions and private conversations they were abundantly satisfied, anxiously and diligently sought his friendship, which afterwards with all obsequiousness and affection they cultivated in the converse of literature. Such were Orontius Miraldus, Petrus Montaureus, Ran-Conetus, Danesius, Jacobus Sylvius, Jacobus Goupylus, Turnebus, Straselius, Vicomercatus, Paschasius Hamelius, Petrus Ramus, Gulielmus Postellus, Fernelius, Joannes Magnienus, Joannes à Pena and Petrus Nonnius, the most of whom were illustrious from their published writings. Not with these only with whom he was in familiar conversation whilst he was in France but also with other most learned men, at Aurelia, Cologne, Heidelberg, Strasburg, Verona, Padua, Urbino, Rome and other principal cities and academies of the Christian World. Publicly teaching Judicial Astrology and Philosophy, he again engaged in the same literary commerce in alternate frequent epistolary correspondence, which, if it were still extant, would render not a moderate light to that kind of sciences.

He might indeed have been numbered among the Royal Mathematical Professors with an annual salary of 200 crowns, being appointed in an office shortly to become vacant and awaiting for the

succession, had he wished to make delay; but he evidently did not wish to be made a naturalized Frenchman, nor that liberty should be taken from him either of returning into his own country, or otherwise of travelling to any foreign part whither his mind was strongly inclined.

Also, with an equal firmness of purpose, he obstinately refused other most favourable offers made to him by the most illustrious men Rohanius and Monlucius, immediately to undertake the embassy to the Emperor of the Turcs, lest he might appear to have given up his natural right, if he had passed over to a foreign dependency. In the meantime, every ingenuous person easily conceded that it was a manifest indication as well of an exalted mind, by no means to be shut up in a narrow space of that sort, as also of the great esteem and fame which he had acquired with the French.

At the close of the following year having returned into England, he perceived that not those rewards of his studies, not those useful fruits which he had expected, were going to be bestowed upon him. Whether it was that he was destitute of help and the commendation of great men, or oppressed by irremovable prejudices (for scarcely does that honorary gift of 100 crowns a year by the indulgence of Edward the Sixth deserve to be mentioned) does not appear. Not, however, did

he remit anything of assiduous labour and industry in his studies being greatly intent upon them day and night. But afterwards to lighten his troubles, and to mitigate in some measure his life distracted with domestic anxieties, his income was increased by being presented to the Rectory of Upton, not far from the banks of the Severn, and Longdon.

After the death of Edward the Sixth, Mary, his eldest sister and first-born daughter of King Henry the Eighth, took possession of the throne. But in that fatal change of things for us which followed, religion being changed throughout all England, Dee, for a little while suffered some evil treatment, and also on account of the pretended crime of heresy, for he was included amongst those good orthodox Christians refusing to embrace the portentous dogma of transubstantiation, and also chiefly on account of a far more atrocious scandalous action charged upon him. For they said that he by sorcery and certain magical incantations had attempted to take the life of the Queen; a wickedness to be expiated by tearing out the nails, and avenging flames, if there was anything of truth in those fables spread amongst the common people. For, of this impious deed being accused by two secret informers, he underwent a severe examination at Hampton Court, firstly, in four articles alleged by John Bourne, the Secretary, and afterwards

in other eighteen charges by the Counsellors assembled together, before whom he was ordered to respond. After being for some time detained there in the custody of the Serjeants, and thence carried off to London, he was arraigned finally to be examined before D. Brook, the Justice of the Common Pleas. At last, after some weeks, when the whole thing was debated in the Star Chamber at Westminster, the proper tribunal for adjudicating upon criminal charges of that sort, he so strongly and clearly defended his innocence that he was absolved by his judges from all suspicion of treasonable practices. But when in other points of religion he was considered not to be sufficiently Romanistic in his opinions, being acquitted by the secular court, he was relegated to Bonner, the Bishop of London, or Inquisitor (whom our countrymen, from his continued cruelty exercised towards the Protestants, still call the bloody Bonner), to be kept in custody in his palace, at which time he had as his companion Bartlett Green, afterwards burned for heresy, as they call it. At length, by the special favour of Philip and Mary (when some had advised that he should be sentenced to the workhouse for all his life) by letters of Council dated the 29th day of August, 1553 (a surety being insisted on that when required he should appear and in the meantime should conduct himself well), he stepped forth from his long-continued imprisonment.

Before this cruel time arose, which had almost prostrated him in the shipwreck of his fortunes, his liberty and life, being invited by the Heads of the University of Oxford, there to teach the Mathematical Sciences, he turned deaf ears to it, by no earnest requests, by no promises to be induced to undertake that noble and honourable profession. For what causes is uncertain, unless perhaps, he was unwilling to be bound within the narrowness of one place as though ascribed to servitude and the soil, or because that he feared lest any one of a versatile genius, from the then established custom being admitted to familiar conversations at all hours, should, as if doing another thing, creep into the secret places of the Museum and explore with spying eyes the secrets of the unlawful arts, in investigating which he was most earnestly engrossed.

In the midst of these times of violence, Dee did not neglect the care of literature, but especially bent his praiseworthy efforts to procure and preserve ancient manuscript volumes and public written deeds. For he had seen in the monasteries, destroyed and pillaged under Henry the Eighth, the literature belonging to the houses either miserably torn in pieces, or consumed in the flames, from the wantonness of unlearned and superstitious men, or dispersed on all sides into private hands, or for lining the inside of chests,

or of lighting the fire in the place of other fuel, or to serve filthy uses; nevertheless, he rejoiced that there were remaining a few relics, as it were, precious writings from that shipwreck still floating and not as yet sunk, from that horrid destruction of Religious Houses (not valued rightly and for their true value, during the reign of Edward the Sixth, but rather esteemed contemptuously and at the worst). He, being earnestly moved by the indignity of the thing, the better to remedy this more and more increasing evil, and lest from the ignorance and rage of the possessors, or lest foreigners, according to their custom desiring for gain to carry off these libraries by fraud, the whole should perish, or here by a like casting away they should be dispersed, assisted in sending a petition* to Queen Mary, that by the royal authority, Commissioners might be appointed, who, upon diligent inquisition being made throughout all England, should collect together these spoils with those in private possession, whether by theft or by purchase, or by gift and legacy, or by whatever means acquired (a just agreement being made) so that in the Royal Library, which he presently persuades them to build, deposited in that sacred place for ages to come the MSS. might be free from all loss, injury and violence of robbers and might be preserved, as well for the use of the

*It is found in the Cottonian Library under vitellius C. vii.

people of the kingdom as for that of the whole Republic of Letters. But that sacred affair (for so I think it should be called) whether because shortly before Mary's departure from among the living, or whether from I know not what sad obstacle intervening, came to nothing, nor as far as I know, was anything done in this matter: however, I have no doubt but that all good men, to whom these studies shall be delightful, will with me praise the piety without disguise, the extraordinary love of this recondite learning, the strong and constant mind, and finally the honest zeal for the common good of his country, of Dee in this petition, which I have copied from his writing on parchment fortified by the strongest arguments and reasons of religious and political wisdom.

In the month of November in the year 1558, Queen Mary departing out of this life, to be heaped up with great praises on account of her excellent gifts of mind (except that towards the subdued Protestants, who had deserved well of her, from a blind and immoderate belief in the Roman superstition, she raged in a violent way and with capital punishment) Elisabeth, the second-born daughter of King Henry the Eighth, an august virgin, ascended the royal throne of her Noble Ancestors. For her solemn inauguration whilst all things were held prepared according to the ancient rite, Dee was consulted on this matter by Sir Robert Dudley

afterwards Count Leicester, and asked and ordered to undertake it, concerning a most auspicious and specially appropriate day, on which it should be held under a favouring and friendly star. He prepared a scheme elaborated according to the rules of judiciary Astrology, in which he had lately shown himself proficient, a collection of the things declared by the maxims of the Masters of this Divine Science. He appears to have deserved pardon for this derided folly, from his good will and desire to please, by which he was induced to perform it. This advantage nevertheless accrued to him, because that he began to become known to the Queen and her ministers and others of especial dignity and of note in the Palace. But when after long expectation, he at length perceived himself to be deprived of all hope of obtaining an annual stipend, whether as a reward for or in aid of his studies, and that there was nothing forthcoming beyond bland words and vague promises, which were by no means to be trusted to, either through weariness or through indignation, a third time he voyaged to Belgium. He again flattered himself that his fortunes would be better increased in foreign Countries, and that more prosperous times would turn up, or that his studies could be better proceeded with than at home, where, from his rash design of applying to the new philosophy and where, indeed, the mystical untoward and evil suspicions greatly increased more

and more from day to day. Nor did he resolve with himself to stay here long, on account of the vehement ardour of his mind and great desire of travelling in foreign parts. For none of the learned men wheresoever living who, according to common report, were held to be eminent above others in Philosophical Sciences, Mathematics and Chemistry, sought friendships more anxiously, no one investigated the secrets of curious learning, whatsoever they might be, hitherto plunged in the deepest darkness and which lay hidden from vulgar eyes, with equal subtilty and diligence. Herein is seen the special purpose both of his journeys and his studies, the rest being considered as only supplementary, lest his good name should be deemed to be lacking in its most praiseworthy and most useful application to human life and the charming Science of Astrology.

In the year 1563, having for this cause wandered over Germany, in the month of September he went to Prince Posonius just after Buda a city of Hungary was taken by the Turcs. Here Maximilianus the Second, King of the Romans, Bohemia and Hungary having lately recovered his crown, at that time held a most splendid court.

After his return at the beginning of the next year, the first production of his labouring and not fortunately fruitful genius not long before conceived and formed at London, he brought forth

into the divine atmosphere of the light at Antwerp in the year 1564 [another edition appearing at Frankfort in the year 1591] inscribed to the same Emperor, which he made famous with the Title of "The Monad, Hieroglyphically, Mathematically, Magically, Cabbalistically and Anagogically explained. In this, the silly trifler, as in the delusions of the Jewish Cabbalists and the triflings of the Pythagoreans and the secrets lying hid in the Seal of Hermes, numbers being variously conjoined, is given up entirely to searching out the Hieroglyphic characters. In an inflated spirit and style he declares with a wonderful confidence that he had revealed the understanding and discovery of the virtues of the supercelestial and metaphysical influences: also of the mystery of the alphabet of the learned, even of the three learned languages, searched out, and finally unveiled the rare and most excellent secrets: and that no explanation similar and equal to this had ever appeared: and evidently seized with a fanatical fury, and altogether inspired boasting, he pretends that God had given to him both the will and the divine power of opening out this mystery to all. To disarm whatever censure might be made against this madness and foolish trifling stories, which any one of sober mind or with the slightest inspection would despise and condemn, he took care to prefix a certain oval figure, comprehended under the four forms perpendicularly

oined to one another alternately, together with the symbols of the four elements placed at the four corners, with this title, "Who does not understand should either learn or be silent." Having returned into England, he presented this little work as though it were most especially worthy to be received and handled by a royal hand, to Queen Elisabeth, then staying in her palace at Greenwich near London, to avoid the summer heat. She vouchsafed to look hastily through it, he being present, saying she would forthwith become his disciple and that if he was willing to disclose the secrets of that book she also was willing to learn and to put it in practice. In the meantime lest the miserable Dee should be sad and sick of mind, she, from the goodness of her disposition, graciously and benevolently promised to favour his studies. But whatsoever was afterwards objected to it by the most learned men of both Universities, he was accustomed to silence by this one answer, that they had so found fault with and censured that book because they did not altogether understand it. So great indeed was the obstinacy which had entered into his mind, that by no arguments could it be expelled.

That this mystic work might be the better understood, Dee, for his part, determined to republish the little book which first appeared unamended of the printer's errors, but later corrected and more

accurate, *viz.*, "Definitive preliminary instructions concerning certain pre-eminent virtues of Nature." He inscribed this book to his old friend Gerard Mercator as a remembrance of his esteem and gratitude. But in this little book he thought so highly of himself, that he dared to extol its excellencies with the greatest confidence to Noblemen of the greatest dignity as well as to the Queen herself.

In the month of February in that year being admitted to the presence of the Queen in the Palace at Westminster, he had a private conversation with her concerning the great secret of the Chemists, which Nicolaus Grudius, formerly one of the Secretaries of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, solely out of good will to Dee, had himself undertaken to reveal free from involved and perplexing difficulties. But under some conditions Dee, more discreetly persuaded him to conceal it, being content to testify in general terms, that God best knew what sort of hindrances prevented the perfecting of this thing: as if the thing were concluded in that assertion, or that from fear or from modesty, he would have been altogether ashamed to make it known in writing. From the future course of Dee's life, it will be shown that he had long before applied his mind and made endeavours to find out that famous red powder commonly called the Stone of the Philosophers.

In the year 1579, Dr. Henry Billingsteins pub-

lished in English, at London, for the use of our forefathers, the whole books of Euclid, to which was prefixed by Dee a long, indeed, but also a most learned preface. Including the circle of nearly all the Mathematical Sciences concerning the Universe, which and what they are and also concerning their use and benefit, as far as they can be extended for the understanding of visible things and the common uses of human life. He descants at large with a subtle wit and wonderful sagacity, interspersed with famous documents and mechanical inventions as well as various theorems, corollaries and explanations added over and above in the thirteenth book. Forsooth, this occasion being chosen for vindicating his fame from the suspicion of illicit and infamous arts, he roars, he is indignant, he exclaims against his railers, who, through lack of knowledge, or malevolence, or malignity of mind, as he contends, had accused him of Magic. But between retorting upon those conscious of this execrable wickedness, this very thing most greatly galled his mind and he gave way to the heaviest and scarcely to be borne grief of heart. But that indeed was in vain, as from other defences published by him against repeated criminations of the same sort, we shall hereafter see. Meanwhile his domestic affairs were as yet uncertain and disordered, nor had he obtained anything else by which he might be secure in his future fortunes. Beginning

to be more and more mentally wearied and agitated by a troubled mind, he again left his country. Either seeking by that means to lighten his contracted sorrow or by travelling in foreign parts to gather more plentiful fruits of the secrets of wisdom. In the year 1571 he departed furnished with a Royal safe-conduct and other provision such as become a nobleman, and with commendatory letters to the ambassadors performing public business at the court of their Princes, if, perhaps, he should desire to pass through their empires and territories, being provided by way of greater convenience and security for the journey with two servants accompanying him, riding on horseback. But whilst he was dwelling in Lotharingia he laboured under a long illness, and that a dangerous one, so that he was hardly expected to live. Which when it was certainly made known to Queen Elisabeth, she being not a little anxious about the longer continuance of his life, ordered two medical men from Hampton Court to hasten thither forthwith, and also a certain noble courtier that they should have a care of his health, giving advice and remedies, but the latter that he should console his sick mind with pleasant discourse. Of so great importance did it seem that Dee should be cured of that disease and kept alive. To inquire into the cause for this anxiety will seem imprudent; but to determine anything on this matter—that

I consider evidently as a folly to be deplored.

Having returned, at what time is uncertain, to his own house in the town called Mortlake, prettily situated on the banks of the Thames in the County of Surrey, about eight miles from London and three from Richmond, with a noble royal palace where the Queen was accustomed sometimes to breathe the air of the country, and to enjoy the delights of a clearer sky. It being so far distant, he betook himself thither, free from the noise and tumult of the city and the abundance of visitors, in this pleasant retreat, to himself alone and the Muses whom he reverently treated by continual study and unwearied vigils, far from every busy and troublesome looker-on. That which, verily, he very greatly desired and most carefully sought after, that he hitherto concealed, reposed secretly in his breast as though a horrible mystery he might more opportunely and conveniently be free from. But afterwards his paternal inheritance and goods being much diminished as much by his journeyings as in his library (*) in books every kind, especially MSS. obtained everywhere at the highest price; in the construction of Mathematical instruments,

* J. Seldon concerning the Syrian Gods: Leyden, 1629, p. 88. That volume of Valens which I use is the MS. formerly obtained at the expense of Christopher Longolius, which, from the very well-appointed library of Dr. Dee, had indeed been taken, communicated to me formerly his heir, a most amiable man, John Pontesius, a London citizen, a great lover of good arts and most deserving of mer.

and in the practice of Chymistry and Occult Philosophy, whither he should turn was clearly doubtful. Already distrusting the promises of the Courtiers, he had begun to think of marriage, to seek in contracting matrimony a greater help and more certain soother of life, which he could not elsewhere find, a woman indeed of a good family and a large fortune. Which desire, that he might at length accomplish it, the matter being consulted about with his friends, he obtained by request from the Queen, Count Leicester and Sir Christopher Hatton, afterwards Chancellor of England, and both of the highest estimation at Court, letters in his favour and honour to his future wife.

In the year 1572, there appeared in the heavens in the Constellation Cassiopeia, a new and shining star, which turned the eyes of all towards it. But whilst the populace, out of an inveterate error arising from ignorance and superstition, were struck with terrific fear at the dire events about to arise from this precursor of evil, the cultivators of celestial wisdom were seized with admiration at the infinite wisdom and power of the Great Architect of the Universe, and were occupied in the most laudable manner in investigating the motions of this phenomenon. I should be silent as to the labours and studies of that great man Tycho Brahe, because that matter is not here in question; others who were here in England gave their ardent and

zealous attention, genius, industry and high powers of mind to the contemplation of the heavenly bodies, amongst whom must be justly accounted Thomas Digges (*), a Kentish man, sprung from a noble family, and our Dee. Both of these contended that that declared opinion was most false, which insisted that comets subsisted beneath the orb of the moon in the form of meteorological vapours, having on this occasion sought it out by demonstration, from the positions, distances and magnitudes of the new stars and comets. Which, that it might be made more clear, they then, having first taken counsel together, undertook to elucidate separately the doctrine of parallax, on which those demonstrations depend, no one being privy to it or supervising it. So by the Wings or Mathematical ladders the remotest stages of the visible heavens can be climbed and the paths of the planets explored by new and unheard

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*G. Camden, in the second part of the History of Queen Elisabeth for the year 1572.

"I know not whether it would be worth while to relate what all the historians of our time have told us, that in the month of November a new Star, or, if you prefer it, a Phenomenon, was seen in the position of the Constellation Cassiopæia, which surpassed Jove in splendour even in the perigee of the eccentric and epicycle, as I myself have observed: and it remained in the same daily place in the heavens, carried around by movement, for the whole sixteen months. That it stood in the celestial, not the elementary, region, Thomas Digges and John Dee, our most eminent Mathematicians, have learnedly demonstrated from the doctrine of parallax, and were of opinion that rising gradually it would disappear. Indeed, through the eighth month all perceived it gradually disappearing."

of methods, as also this portentous star in the parts of the northern world shining with an unusual splendour at an immense distance and of extraordinary magnitude, its situation at a startling distance and an astonishing wonder of God shown to the inhabitants of the earth can be known most clearly. But this is in the heart of the parallactical commentary and practice: which, whilst the works in the studies of Digges were hindered, being excluded from the printing press, he permitted them to be sent over to be annexed to his own, and they were published together in London in the year 1573. In both a method of finding the Parallaxes of the planets and stars by a truly short method, without any use of Logic which occurs perplexed and intricate in Joannes Regiomontanus, is there illustrated and made easy to be understood, and a few defects of Purbachius being made good, not however without the most honourable and most just celebration of the praises due to these two restorers of astronomy. This, as it were the forerunner of a far greater work, being first published, Dee treated the argument at length, and in the same year completed it in three books bearing this title, "Concerning the wonderful Star in the Constellation of Cassiopœia sent from heaven as far as the orb of Venus, and again drawn back perpendicularly into the innermost part of heaven": to which he

added a smaller treatise inscribed, "Hipparchus revived, as a necessary appendix." But as well in the preface as in the introduction, out of the gratitude and respect towards his own Preceptor and Friend, and having regard to public utility, to bring to remembrance his most clear proposition Digges writes to all ingenuous students of astronomy. His words, although perhaps they may appear too prolix, since that book after 130 years is very rarely to be found, with the pardon of the learned and studious reader, I will not, as I hope, trouble him by here referring to it.

In the Preface:—

"But I have determined not to write more concerning the history of this Star: because that most excellent man, John Dee (since he is to be admired in other kinds of Philosophy, as well as being most skilled in these Sciences, whom I venerate as being to me another Mathematical parent, for in my most tender age he implanted in my mind the seeds of these most delightful studies, and in the most friendly and faithful manner nourished and added to other things taught me by my own father), took upon himself to treat upon this material, which, I doubt not, he will so complete that in a short time it will redound to the glory of the most Beneficent and most High God, and to the delight of Students of the Mathematical Arts, their utility and the greatest admiration."

In the Introduction:—

"And although I shall altogether complete this little work, perhaps not an ordinary one, without any human aid, nevertheless, that no injury be done to any one, it pleaseth me to testify publicly in a few words, what follows. 'After that I had brought those my discoveries concerning parallaxes into regular order and completed with all numbers into the form of this little book, I communicated with my most learned friend Dr. John Dee, who forthwith showed me also a demonstration, clear, easy, and most worthy of the greatest praise, by him lately discovered, and told me besides that he had an intention in his mind to search out the most subtle parallaxes of this rare phenomenon by other methods also never before used, and in order that he might most truly attain to that, he invented very many instruments, new and unused, sparing no expenses, nor labour of body or mind, with wonderful industry and incredible skill, at its first appearance, night and day, when it could be seen, the place motion and various altitudes of the Phenomenon, he observed with wonderful ingenuity and most subtle devices: by which he might be able to give most exactly the varieties of all the parallaxes, which hitherto had taken place.' But as the full history of so great a thing could not be given in a short space of time, in order that that little book already prepared for printing,

was first destined to come forth into the light, lest also the praise due to his own discovery should, by chance somewhat obscure the older edition of this my little work, this he asked to join to it as well from the likeness of our minds and studies, as from the long continued and ancient friendship, so also the law of nature also most straitly requires that his own should be given to every one both in great things and in small. Whilst therefore you will be able, if I may so say, to touch the thing itself with your fingers by means of his night studies, with these ladders to climb the heavens, and to be eye-witnesses yourselves of these mysteries, by which the mind is rendered more sublime, you will be able also, by them, if you shall wish, to prove the truth of the thing; you will be more quick-witted and more fit judges to thoroughly appreciate his truly Herculean labours in this Olympic contest."

When the greatly favourable report of Dee's most well-filled Library, and of those admirable things of curiosities both of Nature, which he had collected in his travels, and also of art, which he had fabricated by his own ingenuity, was spread abroad, the Queen being not lightly touched with a desire of seeing him, attended by a great guard of courtiers, in the year 1575, went to his house: and presently learning that the funeral of his wife had taken place but a few hours before, was unwilling to enter, nor indeed did it please her to return

with the intention altogether unaccomplished, had Dee called before her, ordering that, in her presence, should be produced that artificial glass or globe, or concave mirror, or geometrical instrument (for neither is it designated by a special name, nor does the inventor describe its form and figure nor those wonderful properties, which he had before said to be in it), somewhat to be represented, if not to the eyes, at least to be so explained, that before them they might be able to bring some kind of truth to form faith. Dee reports, out of whose own handwriting I now write these things, that he himself explaining that, on the part of the Queen she was abundantly satisfied, and that she was filled with a not moderate pleasure, and that she departed pleased, giving him thanks. To me, indeed, if seems, that these wonderful performances, whatsoever and how great soever they might be, were not produced by the deceit and cunning sleights of the juggler's art, nor from the working of Demons, but from the greatest either subtlety or skill in practical astrology. Nor was she content with this once only to go to his house; again and a third time, out of the great good feeling with which she honoured him, in following years, whilst according to her habit, she was accustomed to pass over there, to breathe the cooler air, in the evening, or on horseback, or in a chariot, ordered him with whose conversation she

was not a little delighted, to be called, almost beneath the royal dignity, except that the extraordinary gifts of his mind, and his very great learning, had deserved this special favour, and that he might come to the Court more frequently than from modesty he would have dared, most benignantly encouraged him by inviting him to come altogether. As to this Library, it pleases me here to interpose a few words.

I may rightly say that if we look at his Library, scarcely any one in a private station, even amongst the Nobility indeed, in all England, at that time, perhaps had a greater number of books, or kept in better order, if we consider the material and arguments as to everything knowable, especially in Philosophy, Mathematics and Chemical Art. For it consisted of four thousand volumes which he had collected with incredible industry and the greatest expense according to the proportion of his means, gathered together during forty years, here and in other countries. Out of these, seven hundred were written by hand in various languages. There were in addition great ones of ancient Charters and Deeds as to the families of Princes and Great Men, both of Wales and Ireland, and also with proofs of doing service by which they had yielded themselves to the protection and favour of our former kings, in due form and the seals appended: also deeds relating to Anglican Antiquities and the foundation

of Monasteries, and a pile relating to the revenue of the monks inhabiting them, and a heap of other ancient seals placed separately in a chest. How great and how rich the Library furniture, or to be envied by Princes. Our forefathers the Heralds had known how best to estimate their value and their extraordinary use, and the Keepers also of the Royal Archives placed in the Tower of London, who were wont to spend whole days in the house of Dee, in exploring them and copying them. All these from great love of the antiquities of his country he magnanimously destined to be placed at some future time in the public Archives of the kingdom that there they might be in all future ages and for the perpetual use of Antiquaries. But sad fate interfered with this generous and pious intention, which I shall afterwards relate in its proper place.

To the noble furniture of the Library, there appertained a not moderate accumulation of Mathematical Instruments and Machines: also those which at that time had not been brought into common use, as well as those which by his own ingenuity amended and reformed he had brought into a better condition, amongst which that I may omit the rest, were a quadrant and a staff, the semidiameter of it being five feet, but of this, ten, accurately marked with divisions, the globe of Mercator, amended and improved by the help of

new observations, by means of which he had inserted the places and motions of the Comets, which appeared at their proper time, the octave, the ninth and tenth of their spheres, according to the hypothesis of the Theory of Purbachius, ornamented with a horizon and brass meridian; mariners' compasses of various kinds and fabricated to find the variation; and lastly, a clock, which, in that age, was held almost for a miracle, adapted to measure the second minutes of the hour. Concerning the Laboratories or chymical offices will be afterwards described.

In the year 1577, the Comet shone in the heavens, in observing which Dee gave his diligent attention: but those observations have altogether perished, perhaps without any loss to Astronomical Science, by no means after those of Tycho Brahe to be-desired. But concerning his skill in celestial learning, so highly was the opinion fixed in the breast of his friends, that they thought no one could better interpret than he the extraordinary signification of this portent, descanting upon which, Queen Elizabeth often heard him not without great pleasure. A panic terror had seized upon the minds of nearly all, as if, though not a certain destruction to the human race, at least fatal evils and most dire ends of things were by it portended from its malignant influence, to England and the regions adjacent to it.

In the following year, *viz.*, 1578, when the Queen was labouring under the sharpest pains arising from an immoderate flow of humours, and had scarcè received any assuagement from her own medical attendants, Dee was sent, provided with Royal letters and the means of journeying, to certain celebrated Professors of Medicine, both in the neighbourhood, and also to some living in the extreme provinces of Germany, that with them he might confer and take advice for restoring the health of the Queen, a hundred days being precisely assigned for completing the journey. But with what success, when Dee judged that on account of his prudence that was to be concealed from him, I am easily persuaded, as I believe that the Queen was entirely restored to health before his return. Howsoever the thing turned out, the prompt mind of Dee to obey the commands of the Queen could not fail to be most pleasing to her.

Dee in every way and by earnest endeavour, as to him looking round at the circumstances from all points of view, his sagacious genius suggested, bestirred himself more and more to increase and conciliate the favour and benevolence of the Queen towards himself. He exhibited to the Queen, giving into her hands at her Palace in Richmond in the month of October in the year 1580, two large rolls beautifully copied on parchment containing the Hydrographical and Geographical chart of certain

transmarine Regions: the right of possessing which he proceeded to assert from documents and testimonies which he brought forward, and arguments thence deduced. That affair, as was the custom when anything of great importance was involved in it, was demanded to be examined and investigated by that most wise and illustrious man, Baron Burleigh, the Treasurer of England. But he, at the first glance at the proposition clearly appeared to have little favoured it, or to have looked on it with benevolent indulgence, so a more complete and closer examination afterwards confirmed the opinion first formed upon it, with a judgment not precipitate and rash. Therefore, after a few days, he took care that those Rolls should be returned to Dee: not however without great praise and approval of his industry and zeal, which truly the inventor most richly deserved. But to others of so great value did it seem to have the maritime coasts of Africa and America fully explored, as far as the experience of sailors and the skill of Mathematicians could aid it, that they greatly desiring to purchase the graphic delineation of that chart, made an offer of the sum of one hundred pounds sterling, which, however, Dee generously declined. But after the death of Dee, Sir Robert Cotton, Knight of the golden spurs and a Baronet, a most diligent collector, above all others, of British Antiquities and of other precious things at whatever

price, acquired that very Chart, to be kept in his incomparable Library, where it now is under Augustus I. with this title in the Catalogue (I have before noted that it was published at Oxford in the year 1696): "A Geographical map of America, Africa, and of the Regions situate within the Arctic pole: by John Dee, in the year 1580."

The emendation of the Kalendar being decided on by the authority and order of Gregory the Thirteenth, the Roman Pontif, the advice in the work of Lily, and other Mathematicians was conjoined. This was in the year 1582, when certainly it appeared from the precession of the Æquinoxes (which the Nicene and Alexandrian Fathers had altogether ignored), and from the lunations recurring in each nineteen cycles and the disparity shown by comparing them with the true Solar years, the new and the full moon (on which the solemn Paschal Festival solely depends), the celestial appearances showed themselves to the eyes of all not to correspond. Dee thinking that, if it could be done, the reformation of the Kalendar ought to be entered upon, made more accurate calculations, so that being admitted into England, it might be put to common and public use, most eagerly desired and endeavoured to it by the most intense study. For which reason, authorised by the Royal command, he was at great pains to publish a short treatise, truly very learned, written in the English idiom, deduced out of certain principles

of Astronomy (of which I possess a perfect copy, together with the figures and maps) concerning the reformation of the common Kalendar (*) in the civil and Julian year of Queen Elisabeth in the year 1583. He took care it should be shown by the proposed method that those eleven days from the time of the Christian Epoch, by which, according to the anteriors of the year he anticipated the form and motion of the vernal equinox, should not all be taken away together, but to avoid confusion, and too great a gap, by what means he could touch it without serious inconvenience, that the lessening

* It has the following Title :—" A plain discourse and humble Address for our gratious Queen Elisabeth, her most excellent Majesty to peruse and consider, as concerning the needful reformation of the vulgar Kalendar, for the civil yeares and dayes accounting of verifying according to the time truly spent. It is inscribed simply without any dedicatory Epistle to the most honourable Baron Burleigh, Treasurer of England. At the end are added supplementary little books to Queen Elisabeth, in which he humbly begs that that reformation, published by an edict of public authority, might be established. Then there appears separately the impress of the year of the Reformation, beginning from May, 1583, each day being placed according to order, and the Festivals, together with the places of the Sun and Moon in the Zodiac, and of both according to their alternate aspects and conjunctions. Formerly it was the private property of Thomas Allen, an Oxford Mathematician, a familiar friend of Dee, who bequeathed it at his death to that celebrated Knight, Sir Kenelm Digby, a Knight of the Golden Spur, together with the rest of the Manuscript copies, of which there was not a small quantity. But of these Sir Digby afterwards gave a great part to the Bodleian Library for the public use in literature : some being reserved for his own proper use, amongst which he benevolently presented this book to John Barber in the year 1635. Now indeed it is placed in the great mass of most famous collections of Elias Ashmole, Esqre., who, the works of Dee which could be found, he either recovered by purchase, or caused to be copied and placed in the Archives of the Museum now called most rightly by his name.

of those days might be made gradually by five months shortened in the following way:—That May should contain only twenty-eight days, June twenty-nine, July twenty-eight, the same as the Augustan, finally September twenty-nine, without any of the Festival days, or the movable, or the pleading days, in which forensic causes in *Term*, as it is called, next following the Holy Trinity, by change from their own places. This proposal, or document, or advice, when the Royal Counsellors had determined from their own caution that it ought neither to be admitted with precipitate haste, nor altogether rejected, they sent it to be discussed by three most eminent Mathematicians, *viz.*, Thomas Digges, Henry Savile and John Chambers. But these having come to a decision, unanimously thought it would have been far better if the vernal equinox had been brought back to the time and condition, in which it was standing about the year of the birth of Christ, only ten days, out of respect for the Synod of Nice (which enacted by its own sacred authority that this Paschal solemnity should be observed at the appointed time, and lest—that superfluous eleventh day being taken away out of the month of September—the ordinary proportion of the Kalendar received in the other countries of the Christian World, should be disturbed) should be deservedly appointed, and to agree with the truth of the motions of the celestial bodies as

computed by Astronomers, and that it was indeed very possible that the idea and type of the Kalendar for that year, *viz.*, 1583, certain parts being excepted, compiled by Dee, was without any manifest error for the future, provided that certain rules as to the bissextile years in certain whole centuries should be enacted after a correct calculation lest the equinox, restored to its former place, in a long series of years should again be moved from thence. The rest, which do not belong to this place, I omit to copy.* On which Baron Burleigh with his associated Counsellors passed a disapproval and gave judgment, after frequent consultations being held; influenced by political reasons they preferred to adhere to the ancient error. However nothing, as I think, of inconvenience or danger was to be feared, than with the Roman Church in a most innocent matter rightly to be wise (for thus I think it must be said, with all due reverence towards these most wise men, as if any one would, from it, be induced to favour the arrogant Papal power, and give in his adhesion to the [so-called] universal Christian Church). Thus with the decrees and ordinances of the same Church, and equally with their superstitions and corruptions, in which the truth and faith of the Christian Religion

* I have taken care to compare this relation with the criticisms of it, of the most learned man John Gravius, Savile Professor of Astronomy in the University of Oxford, in the London Philosophical Transactions for the month of October in the year 1699.

are injured to an outrageous degree, with dogmatic assertions, and finally with tyranny and usurpation of the rights of Princes and Bishops were they very greatly hostile and were clearly irreconcilable.

But so magnificently did its author think of this little work, that afterwards he dared to reprove the neglect of the Bishops towards him, as if a vicarious worker had performed that office which was proper to them from the ancient foundation of the Church and upon whom it was incumbent from their office, considering the same, to take care of the thing by every means, to supervise it diligently, and to govern it.

Hitherto when Dee was occupied in investigating curious Arts and hunting after the innermost secrets of natural philosophy, and also the mysteries of celestial wisdom, above what it is lawful for mortals to aspire to, he had worked alone, but at the beginning of the previous year, or thereabouts, as from the circumstances of the times being compared it is permitted to conjecture (for neither can I precisely define the time) Edward Kelley, a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six years, being attracted by the fame of Dee, sought his friendship. From the similarity of their studies, the faith, the industry and the skill of this new stranger, especially in chymical operations and experiments, which he possessed above the common herd of Philosophers, with great outward show, of whom the spirits predicted

he would afterwards be the artificer or worker of nature, the inner chambers of the earth being explored, Dee had taken to himself, having previously proved him, and in a short time Kelley was admitted as a guest as though fallen from heaven. Now therefore, Dee, having auspiciously obtained an associate, especially suitable and convenient according to the genius and plan of his life, for that which, for so many years of his past life, he had without intermission pursued, he dreamed that there would be nothing inaccessible, nothing impervious, nothing impossible to their conjoined deliberations by a most pleasing delusion of his mind, and ensnared by the fallacies of a hurtful and impious curiosity. Also concerning Kelley who in this astonishing drama performed not the smallest part, as it were, from super-abundance of material, is here necessarily brought in. But the other things which relate to him will be reserved to the end of this narration.

Edward Kelley was born at Worcester the first of August in the year 1555. Some will have it that he was a quack Doctor in his native city, but others, what to me seems more like the truth, that he was by profession an ordinary scribe. The business really pertains to writers of deeds, securities, and copying of Wills. Here, having wrongly used his abilities, and being clearly guilty of fraud, suffered the punishment of having his ears cut off

at Lancaster, which place having left on account of the disgrace, turning to another employment, he applied himself to the study of Chymistry, from which, he flattered himself that he should accumulate immense wealth, because he was studious of the gold-making Art. Nor did his curiosity confine itself within the borders of the honest and the right. For it was proved that he (*) having taken up the corpse of some one recently dead out of the sepulchre, consulted the infernal spirit evoked for the purpose upon the matters proposed, so that no doubt can be left that he had entered into a pact with the Demon. Now, from that time, in which he had insinuated himself into the friendship of Dee, frequent appearances of evil spirits were made to both present at the same time, whom, Dee being deluded in a most horrible manner, through the greatest folly, thereafter as long as life lasted, believed to be good Angels of God sent from heaven to illuminate his mind with clearer rays of Divine Wisdom and with the knowledge of future events. For he was wont to beseech God with most fervent and often repeated prayers, that being gifted with wisdom, he might attain to the faculty of understanding the secrets of Nature, not yet

* See the famous book of that eminent man John Weaver, whose Title is "Ancient Funeral Monuments," published at London in the year 1631, pages 45, 46, where many proofs and documents are given as to the truth and that without doubt, that this thing really took place.

revealed to men; nor did he abstain from declaring openly that from his youth upwards God had implanted in his heart a zealous and insatiable desire of arriving at that truth; that this was the scope and end of his studies, that at length, God inspiring him, he being fully instructed, might attain to the true Philosophy, the treasure of heavenly wisdom, and the science of pure truth. Hence that he would be the messenger and administrator of the Divine Will newly to be revealed to men, by his unwearied vigils, genius, philosophical and mathematical studies, yea and from his piety and continual prayers, not for the glory of God, as he clamorously and earnestly pretended, but rather from self-seeking with over much confidence in himself, easily persuading himself with intolerable arrogance. When he was unwilling to be wise according to the dictates of right reason and the sacred Scriptures, but had eagerly sought by an unlawful and impious ambition to surpass the powers of the human mind, by the just judgment of God being left to himself and given over to the arbitrament of his own will, he became the sport, the laughing-stock and the prey of dæmons, to whose wiles and illusions, without any distrust, yea most greedily embracing them, by so great a solicitation he had rendered himself apt and easy.

Those actions (under which name conferences

with evil spirits are called) began on the twenty-second day of December, 1581, being comprehended in five books of the *Mysteries*, as yet not published, in which Dee had learned from Spirits the way of fabricating and accurately working out the form of the sacred table, of delineating the *Seal*, as it is called, *of God*, and he describes by what previous rites and preparations they could obtain visitations and conversations, bringing them out one by one, together with an appendix, which he finishes on the twenty-third day of May, 1583. These writings being hidden in the secret part of a certain chest, which, in that fatal fire of the city had escaped safe, as formerly told to me, Sir Elias Ashmole, a most eager investigator of that sort of things (I know not by what means he obtained it), most carefully preserved: which are now kept in the Museum at Oxford. But in these, as in the other papers which are found in the Cottonian Library, and which the revered and most learned man, Meric Casaubon, son of Isaac, published at London, 1659, Dee wrote with his own hand the history of those years, each being accurately noted, according to his custom, both as to circumstances of things and of time. The Cottonian Papers, to which is prefixed the following title, "The sixth book of the Mysteries and the parallel of the sacred first fallow land," take their beginning from the 28th day of May, 1583, five days after the last action.

i.e., the last séance held with spirits, on the twenty-third day of the same month, following in regular order the appendix mentioned above. These, not bound together in one volume, but divided into various parts according to the purport of the matter there treated of and searched out, are stitched together apart, here and there befouled with mildew and moisture, as if a long time before hidden in a small box, and scarcely legible in the future, unless some opportune accident had brought them to light."

In one (*) of the preceding Actions, which took place on the twenty-first day of November in the year 1582, Dee most obstinately asserted positively that a clear and transparent stone of a circular form, as he often calls it, or a crystal, in which apparitions are in future to be made, and voices, wanted for oracles, were to be produced, had been delivered by an Angel from these learned Priests. The same thing at Prague in the year 1584, having called to witness the most sacred Divine Being under a most horrible curse, with the greatest confidence, he asserted: adding, that that crystal was of such value and virtue, that no wealth of earthly kingdom could be compared with it as being

* At the end of the fourth book of the Mysteries. He says that there on that day he had seen an Angel, about as big as a boy, towards the West window of the Museum, holding that stone in his hand: from whom, being ordered that he should go thither that he might receive it, he perceived it to be cold and hard, but shining clear and glorious.

equal to it, nor so dignified. Which he afterwards shewed to William de Sancto Clemente, ambassador of the King of Spain, as well as to Jacob Curtzius the Cæsarean Counsellor, having produced also the fourth book in manuscript, in which he states by what means (the Angel bestowing it), it had come into his possession. Dee does not describe what sort of a movement he made, but that he appeared somewhat arrogant or proud, in whom were so many and various forms stirred with various movements, and so many sights were shown at the same time, he gives with a great appearance of truth. But if it were not altogether the same, at least to me it seemed equal and alike destined to the same diabolical uses (for thus, being then present, I believed) which I recollect to have seen exposed for sale, with a large quantity of magical appliances and magical books at a public auction which was held in London in November, 1694, perhaps at the same time with the glass vessel, containing in its hollow half a gallon, if it be lawful so to speak, with swelling out and roundness, and as the Masters of these horrible mysteries pretend that it is possible that the faculty of intuition should be given, if anything appeared in it, not promiscuously to all, but to those only rightly initiated. To this office Kelley seemed especially suitable, and was installed by Dee now seized with the most foolish credulity and aberration thence brought

into his mind, as the closest confidant and constant friend, Uriel advising it, a mutual agreement being entered into, and an annual pension of fifty pounds being assigned to him, that he was to undertake the office and ministry of Inspector, in English, Seer or Skryer in future Actions.

In the summer of the year 1583, there came into England Albertus à Lasco, a Pole, Palatine of Siradia, descended from an ancient and illustrious family, and endowed with excellent gifts of mind and great love of literature, to visit Queen Elisabeth, of whose great wisdom universal report had spread the praises throughout the whole of Europe and to honour her admirable virtues with the most humble attentions and respect near her and in her presence. He was received by her with all the honour, courtesy and favour, which either the laws of hospitality towards Noble Foreigners were wont to show, or the laws of good fashion and the customs of Princes prescribed. The Queen's example or command the Oxonians having followed, they entertained him with learned and elegant conversations and speeches, and scholastic exercises, treasures of genius and learning, preserved in their libraries, in honour of so great a guest, in like manner most promptly shown to him, in consideration of his dignity and merit, not to say beyond his merit. But out of all those then in England most famous for the report of their learning, he esteemed

no one more than Dee, or whose friendship he cultivated with greater diligence, whether taking a great liking to him from his flatteries or being captivated by his excessive love of the secrets of Nature, which Dee, now having obtained a congenial hearer, had boasted were discovered by him. But whilst Dee, by chance, was present at Court on the 12th day of July, the Earl of Leicester having approached him, said, that after two days, he, together with Albertus à Lasco, would dine with him; Dee candidly confessed forthwith that he had not sufficient money wherewith to prepare a repast worthy of so great guests, unless his household silver plate were first pledged or sold. Which, as soon as the Queen had knowledge of it, she, without any delay out of her royal liberality, presented him with 40 golden pieces, commonly called Angels, on account of the likeness of an Angel formerly impressed on the reverse side. From this time, as I have said, Lasco being caught by the flatteries of Dee, or rather demented by tricks, gave himself up wholly into his power, and then, permission being first asked of the Spirits, was soon admitted *into this mystic and impious society*, and was present at the Actions at Mortlake. To that pass indeed by reason of his credulous error, becoming his own self-deceiver, that the Dæmons, that he might the more closely adhere to these horrible rites, easily cajoled his ambition with the vain hope and

expectation of obtaining the chief power in his country, enticing him with fair words that he would be king not of Poland alone but also of another kingdom, *i.e.*, first of Poland and then of another, *viz.*, Moldavia, and under whom great changes in the universal world would be begun, and that by him under the banner of the Cross, the Jews would be converted, and the Saracens and the Gentiles be conquered by him.

After that Dee from fear, lest, as he had been persuaded by the seducing spirits, plots had been prepared by Lords Cecil and Walsingham, which they feigned were against him and Lasco, whereby he would be condemned to death by the capital punishment of the sword, had arranged with the above mentioned Palatine, as to making a journey into Poland. He, privately, without having first asked permission to depart out of the kingdom, took his departure from Mortlake on the 21st of September, 1583, together with another wife, Jana Fromanda, a woman of a good and ancient family, whom, as his second wife, he had married on the 5th of February, 1578, his son (*) Arthur, a boy of four years, and other children, Kelley, his coadjutor, and his wife, whom he had married at Mortlake in the same year, and the servants. Lasco and his attendants, in the middle of the Thames, as it was

* He was born at Mortlake, 13th July, 1579, at 4.36.

mutually appointed (*) the better to conceal their flight being taken into boats, one and another, at London, quickly made for Greenwich on a stormy night, and from thence to seven or eight miles beyond Greenwich, where ships are stopped to pay customs, to be searched by Custom House Officers, embarked on a Danish ship (the other being destined to receive the servants, the baggage and the horses with greater convenience, a courtesy upon which they had also agreed), about to sail thence into Holland. But the ships being nearly driven into quick-sands by contrary winds, they escaped shipwreck which threatened them, not without the greatest labour of the sailors. From thence being carried in fishing-boats in the bay of Queenborough situated on the coast of Kent, when they were about to disembark from the side of the vessel, the sails of that in which sat Dee, Lasco and Kelley, from the tossing about the sail-yards of each interlacing and locking together, it was within a little but that all had been immersed together; the vessel being filled with water up to their knees, which Kelley with a certain vessel

* Cambden in his Annals of the reign of Queen Elisabeth for the year 1583, says:—From Poland, near Russia, during this Summer, there came into England Albertus à Lasco, Palatinate of Siradia, of a well-formed body, with a long beard, his dress becoming and graceful, who was most graciously received by her and by the Nobility with great honour and refinement, and received by the University of Oxford with learned recreations and various pageants, after four months being burdened with debt, privately withdrew.

endeavoured to raise up and bail out: at length, though with great difficulty nor with less danger, safe and joyful they landed at the town, in which rest was to be taken until the storm ceased raging. After five days, having travelled over the sea, they arrived at Brielle in Holland.

Not long after the departure of Dee, the inhabitants and neighbours, by whom he had become more and more suspected of sorcery and magic, ran violently into his house; of whom some pillaged the Library, carrying off very many volumes, tearing out the printed matter and defacing them with their hands; others in a like manner attacked the Laboratory, breaking the furnaces and the chemical vessels of glass and metal. This most severe loss, brought about by that most barbarous robbery, he never ceased most bitterly to deplore, for that at immense expense and excessive labour through so many years he had collected that splendid array: but he most greatly grieved that a bottle containing some sweet substance weighing about four pounds like gum, of a somewhat brown colour had then and there perished: whether prepared as a medicine or for other uses he is altogether silent. They burned with such hatred and so great indignation against him on account of the detestable imputed wickedness under whose ban he laboured, that scarcely had he been present would he have escaped alive. So doubtless resistance is in

vain made to the fury of an enraged mob in its first violent sway. In the meanwhile he being conscious of his indiscreet flight from his country, being greatly anxious to know what the Queen and her Counsellors had resolved upon it, desired to consult at Brielle the crystalline oracle now brought into the country of a Foreign Power.

I will not here fully describe every incident of the whole journey from Brielle to Cracow, nor will I refer to or remark upon the cities and places through which it was necessary to pass: since any one is able to seek those from his own account of it by Dee himself: from which how many, which are principally to be noted and which conduce not a little to illustrate the history of his life, I have proposed in a brief abstract to rehearse and relate: this alone being content to give warning of beforehand, that that journey was to be hastened, only somewhere about two or three days were to be taken up by it, according as circumstances happened, that nothing might interpose which might hinder Dee and his associates from performing these detestable Actions.

At length after four months, having passed through great difficulties and dangers with which it must necessarily be contended in the severe winter, Dee arrived at the castle of Lasco, his hereditary seat, on 3 Feb., 1584, where when he had remained for five weeks not without great irksomeness

and inconvenience, money being very sparingly supplied by Lasco, he being oppressed by debt and not having yet redeemed his mortgaged farms, on the 9th March proceeded to Cracow, a Royal City, there to await greater conveniences of life and new revelations. Here also, as elsewhere, Actions are frequently held, in which the dæmons most miserably deluded him, barbarous voices being uttered, then with the customary ambiguities oracles of an exalted meaning, far beyond all understanding, many things concerning the division of the whole world under the leading and government of twelve Angels, and especially concerning various Angels who inhabit thirty regions of the air, and their number, and making reference to feigned mysteries of that kind from which all the secrets of Nature were to be found out: and by which means they might more and more of him captivate by wiles of this sort, they finally undertake to set forth and explain whatever formerly appeared in the book of Enoch. But lest Lasco, whether by exerting the force of reason, and waking up from this lethargy by the interior sense of his mind, should free himself from their wiles, they repeated again and again that promise made before in England as to his future royal dignity. In the meanwhile although these horrible rites were enacted he and Kelley alone being present in most secret conclave, from a clear illusion, as if some one of the

malignant spirits, with an outstretched arm were about to snatch away the crystal, Dee greatly feared lest Lasco denouncing him to the king of Poland who was then in the City, would make known all these things; but one personating Gabriel quickly banished this fear from his mind promising freely that whatsoever had been done by them in these apparitions and conferences the same was altogether hidden. But when the Devil jugglers had here made no progress, nor was there any one in this City and Court could give any help towards promoting their designs, or to be hoped or expected, Dee is ordered that he should in all haste be on his way to Prague, where Rudolph, the Emperor of Germany, was at that time staying attended by a most splendid train of Courtiers, Dee pleaded by way of excuse that he had not sufficient money nor other provision for undertaking such a journey, nor, according to the former command, could he or ought he to go thither without Lasco, made delay for some little time, until he and Kelley by often repeated commands, not without reproaches as though they had foolishly and perversely acted by so long delaying, they unwillingly were almost pushed forward.

Cracow therefore being left, they arrive at Prague on the ninth of August, 1584, in which, as it were, in a new scene, we shall in the next place see things altogether wonderful performed by the subtlety of dæmons.

In order that Dee might the more speedily and conveniently comply with the commands of the spirits of going to Rudolph II., Emperor, not long after his arrival in the city he had made himself known to William de Sancto Clemente, the ambassador of the King of Spain, whose friendship he had won, after that he had revealed to him the horrible secret of the apparitions of Angels in the crystal, together with conversations and instructions given during the Actions related by his own hand, he sent obsequious letters to Rudolph, together with his little book of the Hieroglyphic Monad, inscribed to his father Maximilian, to be delivered into his hands by the ambassador, who, by his earnest and solemn words as to the truth of these revelations, repeated with a wonderful confidence, had lent too easy ears by reason of the weakness of his judgment, relying upon help, patronage and management. . . . . The Emperor won over by the letter of Dee—shall I rather say overcome by the persuasions of the Ambassador—ordered him to be sent for to the Court, prepared at an appointed time to hear that which *might be for his own good*, as the Ambassador had taken upon himself to promise in the name of Dee. Dee therefore being introduced by the Chamberlain was admitted into a private chamber, and at his first approach being benevolently received by the Emperor, began his speech, the summary of which

I will here give: "That he indeed, although both at home and abroad had with much labour spent forty years in the studies of wisdom and doctrine, he had been able to search out the sought for and investigated truth, neither from books, nor from familiar conversation with learned men, wheresoever he had travelled, then turning to the Great God, the source of all wisdom, he had earnestly implored Him with continual and most fervent prayers that He would deign, to His own glory, to impart to him by Divine Illumination more certainly to understand the natures of things. That God had at length favoured his most ardent desires, and He had sent from Heaven for the space of two years, now beyond the half, to illuminate his mind with the science and proofs of celestial mysteries, which at the very same time he had committed to paper to last for ever: which effect was produced by the aid of a crystal stone, which without doubt was of so great virtue and value that it far surpassed all the treasures of the whole world, inasmuch as in it those apparitions were made and from which Divine Oracles were uttered. Then, having invoked the most Sacred Deity, he called Him to witness that the thing was truly as he had stated, by Whose command he then appeared in his presence, in order to perform a sacred office: cautioning him, that the Angel of the Lord was rebuking him for his sins committed; that he, if he would believe in this

celestial messenger, would triumph, but if otherwise, the foot of God dashed against his breast, he would be precipitated from his throne: from this mutual relation being entered into, God would most certainly perform all these things: if the Emperor was willing to renounce his sins, and be converted to God, that his throne would be the greatest and most glorious of all that ever were; and that the Devil, that is (as Dee interpreted it), the great Turk, being delivered up as a captive, all these things would have happened by the special command of God, that nothing was feigned, no hypocrisy was exercised, that he was inspired by no ambition nor desire of wealth, that he was not deluded by vain dreams, that he was not talking idly: finally, that if he had said anything otherwise than what was fitting, he from that moment would abandon all hope of eternal salvation." This verbose and impious speech being finished, to which the Emperor had given attention with a calm and gracious mind, having made no interruption to that overflow of words, without even any sign of the least displeasure, the Emperor replied, that "he did not distrust him; also he believed that Dee wished him well, nor was there any occasion for so great and frequent genuflexions, with which he had bent himself at his feet." By which most kind response Dee being encouraged, superadded, "that he would show the Emperor the whole series of Actions of the Angels from the very

beginning, and the whole history as in commands he had had it." The Emperor answered that "he at another time would hear and understand about these things, and commanded him to feel assured of his favour and good will." And so after a long hour, that famous Ambassador of Dæmons took his departure from that remarkable interview.

It can scarcely be doubted but that Dee from this wonderful kindness and indulgence of the Emperor puffed up and joyful, had flattered himself that he at length would soon be the strenuous favourer and patron of introducing that world of new religion under the pretext of Divine revelations; as formerly Mohammed had introduced his fantasies. But the event quite contrary to his expectation and wishes checked and chastised this most pleasing infatuation.

In the meanwhile there spread through the Court and City, rumours that a certain alchymistical spendthrift, Magician and Necromancer had lately come thither to repair his fortunes and to deplete the coffers of the Emperor of the money in them. Which reproach Dee could not endure, and took it most impatiently and with the greatest indignation, for he contended that his good report had remained quite unsullied, and hitherto unhurt by any scandal amongst all both in Germany and also in other countries, as though indeed that anything of evil

should be suspected of him were a great crime. But when through two whole days no invitation was dispatched from the Emperor as to future appointments, being very anxious in his mind, he had become sensible of his position, altogether impatient of longer delay, wrote to Spinola, earnestly entreating him, that he would be kind enough to think out and suggest a means by which the Emperor could be again more easily approached: but the Emperor had left the City for the purpose of hunting, and also Spinola had gone with him: however, a letter previously written to him after a week's delay was by some means delivered to Dee's messenger on the last day, saying that "the Emperor, because not only was he not well skilled in the Latin tongue (for this had they used in their conversation), but also through a multiplicity of engagements of the utmost importance, would not be able to grant him an audience at any stated time, therefore he had committed the transferring of the whole of that affair to Doctor James Curtzius, who was in his confidence (a man truly in the greatest repute on account of his wisdom and his deep skill in the Mathematical Sciences), with whom Dee would be able to act most openly and with all freedom, if so it seemed proper to him: if otherwise, the Emperor would consider in what way he could satisfy his desire." I refer the curious reader to the published *Relation*, where these and many

other things, which I deem it best to omit, are specially reviewed, I being content to touch lightly upon the chief heads of things in this short account, which would increase into a great bulk if I were to deal with it. To the mansion of Curtzius, at a great distance, Dee betook himself on the 15th day of September, whither he took care that the crystal and eighteen books written with his own hand, should be carried, delighting to repeat that by the mercy of God he had been taught by Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel and other good Angels, whatsoever could be comprehended in those books already before explained; which being somewhat lightly evolved, and at last rather more accurately, which was more nearly adapted to Rudolph, after six hours he returned home, promising Curtzius that he would declare all those things to the Emperor without concealment, sincerely and faithfully. At the next conversation which was delayed till the 27th day, Curtzius came to the house of Dee to tell him that the Emperor, as concerning those things about which he had discoursed, were beyond all belief, and by no means could be done: and therefore he wished him to produce before him the account of the Actions rendered in Latin, especially that which embraces the paraphrase of the Symbol of the Apostles, that a more mature and correct judgment might be formed upon it, as much as his leisure would permit. Dee replied that he would

by no means allow the original writings to be taken out of his hands; but that a copy of those Actions, which he asked for should be written out. Then, having made complaints of the irksomeness of so long delay, he confesses that he had proposed in his mind to send other letters to the Emperor, which indeed, had been suggested to him by his spiritual Masters and Directors, and he had written out some days before. But these he afterwards decided, more prudently, to entrust to his friend the Spanish Ambassador, to be delivered. Also in these, that he might more certainly bring the king over to his views, Rudolph being more addicted to chymical experiments, if it be lawful for me so to speak, than became his dignity, avouched in the Name of God, that the art and infallible method of making that blessed Stone, commonly called the Stone of the Philosophers, was known to him, and he promises by word of mouth and from his heart, and sacredly vows as in the presence of the omnipotent God, that he would forthwith communicate that Philosophical work, this sole reward being promised him that he should be distinguished by the title of the Cæsarean Philosopher and Mathematician. Nevertheless, the Emperor by no means yielded to this lofty style of speech and pompous verbosity, and the most flattering promises of accumulating immense wealth by the use and power of the gold-making powder, concerning which

however, of overcoming at some future time, Dee, as it seems, although scarcely any rays of hope shone upon him at present, did not altogether despair.

In the October of this year Dee rushed hastily to Cracow to bring thence his wife, his family and his furniture, whence, after a delay of two months passed in settling his affairs, he returned to Prague, authorised by letters of Lasco to the Spanish Ambassador to draw more closely the ties of friendship before entered into. But after his return, he was more and more neglected by the Emperor and Curtzius, all intercourse as to the secrets, whether philosophical or celestial, being altogether discontinued, and no reason for it being now given, being warned also by the seducing spirits of the imminent danger of imprisonment, unless he consulted his safety by a precipitate flight, he left Prague, accompanied by Kelley and his wife, and hastened to make his way to Vratislaus. But when he had come to Limburg, at a distance of six German miles, the next morning, having consulted the Oracle (for this, whithersoever he might betake himself, he always carried with him, and had accustomed himself to resort to upon every occasion that presented itself) he was ordered to return, by a personated and fictitious Michael, since nothing further was to be feared from the anger and evil intentions of Rudolph, who would miserably perish in a year's time, and that Stephen, King of

Poland, would, in a short time, be put upon his throne; and at the same time having cast off all fear to proceed openly through the City. Thus surely, the spirits commanding to go hither and thither, wantonly and saucily, with a blind impulse he most promptly complied. Cunningly indeed, both by ostentation of his recondite learning and also his pleasing manners he had before insinuated himself into the good graces of certain eminent men of great reputation and principal authority at Court, is proved by this clear indication, that when his infant, recently born, was to be sprinkled with the sacred water, his sponsors were William de Sancto Clemente, ambassador to Cæsar the King of the Spaniards, the highest Chamberlain and Counsellor of his Cæsarean Majesty, and the noble Lady, the Dame of Dittrechstain, D. de Dittrechstain the wife of the Major-Domo of the Palace, the Capellan of the Emperor administering the sacred rites in the greater Temple of the Metropolis of Prague, as scarcely any one publicly was seen to be so pre-eminent, which contributed more to the honour of Dee. Indeed, at his request, the name of Michael the Archangel was given to the infant, as a grateful remembrance, as he fondly thought of the observance towards him on account of his kind directorship and defence.

Lest Dee should charge the Spirits with the crime of broken faith in their not revealing as yet

the secret so often promised of making gold, at length Levaniel dictated a ludicrous formula involved in a great intricacy of barbarous words, of a certain chymical preparation, by means of which to extract *that blessed red and glorious powder*, which neither he nor his secretary understood, and which, although it was veiled from all others under coverings of that sort, to them at least it was due that it should be explained. But the whole process seems to be composed to astonish and distract rather than to inform the mind. But whilst in that very great want of all things to which he was reduced by the want of money he sustained his languishing mind and craving stomach with these golden dreams, materfamilias, perceiving that no otherwise was it possible to provide the things necessary for daily use except by selling the furniture or pledging the clothing, now helpless in herself, is tormented in the most miserable manner. Her husband was ashamed as a Philosopher, to confess these domestic evils, or to reveal to the great men and others whose friendship he had most studiously sought, the poverty under which he laboured. This certainly was little consonant with the dignity of the Philosophical profession and its course of life. He preferred to die and be killed by starvation than in this base manner, as it were by begging, to help his very great necessity. But his wife, a weak woman, feeling the greatest misery on account

of her little ones, lest they should pine away with hunger, could not harden herself with such ruggedness and obstinacy. What, therefore? She, according to her wit and shrewdness, wrote suppliant letters in her own name to pray for pity and excite the affection of the Angels, whom she felt it was wrong that they should be suspected of being altogether void of feeling, to be read at the next Action, that they might by their advice be shown in what way and from whom help of that sort of which at that time they were most in need could be sought for. But she being upbraided for her rashness and audacity shown by the testimony, of opposing the Will of God, they answered the questions proposed, amongst other things, "that necessity must be obeyed, that the furniture and ornaments of the house, and the garments of the body must be converted into money, to prevent their dying of hunger," this consolation being added, "that they wished well to her and her children, and in the end would take care of them." Then they advise her husband to hasten thence towards Poland to Stephen and Lasco. But when he had for a week delayed that destined journey, being occupied with domestic affairs, after craving the indulgence of a short delay, together with Kelley, his constant companion, and two servants, having left Prague, proceeded to Cracow on the 12th of April.

After a few days, Lasco interceding, and procuring for him an easy approach, Dee being introduced by the same to the presence of King Stephanus, addressed him shortly, saying, "that he having received a divine admonition," these are his very words "concerning those things, which were divinely enjoined upon him, was most ready to treat with His Royal Majesty, and then to relate in regular order the history of the mysteries, as occasion shall be given, for which purpose he had come thither:" to whom the king, most graciously, his promise and favour and patronage having previously been sent, replied, that he would take care to appoint a more opportune time for discussing those matters, certainly after a few days (it was then the time of the Paschal Feast). Now twenty days having passed, during which the crystal was covered with a curtain, according to the will of the spirits, whilst they were at Prague the oracle was dumb, the discontinued Actions were renewed.

On the 23rd day of May, Lasco and Dee having met together in the presence of King Stephanus in an interior chamber of the Palace, thus spoke to Dee at the first commencement of this conference, "I have brought with me the Palatine that I might hear you concerning those great and rare things; which I have willingly done: and nevertheless this ought to be taken into consideration, that all the prophets and revelations long ago and even in

the time of Christ have ceased: nevertheless, if there be nothing in them against the honour of God, on that account it is to be heard more willingly, and I indeed do not doubt, but that God can now in many ways reveal certain secrets to men, even up to the present time unheard of and unaccustomed." Dee endeavoured to remove all scruple from the mind of the king, he is about to explain as to each article proposed, to answer the powers of a subtle genius, a long speech being made: which the curious reader will find in the Appendix, for to reduce that to a compendium is too tedious. Out of his heart and mouth nevertheless with his wonderful promptitude and fervour, which the importance of the subject and a false zeal had excited, he was suddenly captivated by him overflowing with persuasive words, that in the next Action, out of favour to him to be conducted in the Latin language, he, by no means refused to be present. But, however, this was performed on the 27th of the same month, when, the crystal being produced, and other ceremonies gone through, and a prayer to God according to the occasion, solemnly uttered in words previously conceived, Dee began the performance. But Stephanus did not any further allow himself to be deluded by these diabolical incantations, the divine grace assisting him, nor ever after this was he willing to be present at those horrible mysteries. Dee did not altogether despair of convincing him;

he therefore, at last accosted him, as the malignant spirits had commanded, as to communicating to him, as lately to Rudolph, the proposed secret of making the Philosopher's Stone. But Stephanus having now become more prudent, most constantly repudiated with a fixed resolve, fallacious promises of that sort. Therefore, when he had profited nothing in engrafting his blasphemous and impious opinions upon Stephanus, at the end of July he hastened to return to Prague.

Not long after, Franciscus Puccius, a Florentine, a man of a subtle genius, brought up to literary studies, and most devoted to curious Arts, was admitted into this mystic Society, whom, suspecting him of bad faith, and considering him to be a spy, Dee, in the following year rejected and expelled from this most sacred communion, nor was he, by any gratifying and flattering epistles, nor by any professions of renewed relationship and sincere friendship afterwards to be conciliated by him.

In the meanwhile, by harsh censures, mocking jests and scornful affronts levelled at him up and down, Dee, although considered to be the great joke of the vulgar, determined to delay still at Prague, and to have a fixed domicile there, with a mind, if not joyful, at least not despondent, about to seek new friends, favourers, and patrons most carefully (for no one better knew good manners, or was more accustomed by subtleties

and wiles to approach and overcome the unwary). Amongst these was eminent the nobleman, Guilelmus Ursinus, Lord of Rosenburg, a knight of the golden fleece, Supreme Burgrave of the kingdom of Bohemia, who, evidently allured by his enticements, gave himself up entirely to his direction, as though he had been a participator of the secret things of God, and the familiar friend of the Angels, under whose auspices and patronage, which hitherto had come to nothing, and Dee, from his incurable insanity and obstinacy, and the Magistrates hoped that it might at length be effected. This new Pupil soon to be enrolled amongst the Mystics, the malignant spirits as if already about to achieve a triumph in order that they might more and more befool him, inspired with the desire of worldly glory and unbridled ambition, and bound him with inextricable knots; they afterwards declared to him that he would bear greater degrees of honour than was his lot by birth, and that it would be lawful to hope that he would be very illustrious, and doubtless would be king of Poland. In the meantime when Rosenburg had turned his mind to contracting marriage, though still doubtful what kind of woman he was to marry, they advise that he should take for a wife a lamb, *i.e.*, a virgin, by no means to rob the family of a neighbouring poor man (for, as it seems, he had previously too much indulged in unrestrained morals and excess). After this Action

of the 30th April, 1586, had come to an end, they so willing it, the *Visitations* were to be intermitted and to cease for six months.

This Vacation and keeping holiday being conceded, Dee being very anxious about his affairs in England, after a few days journeys to Leipsic, to learn from the mouth of Englishmen, according to custom going to the Fair, there always held for trading purposes, what had happened at his house, which had peculiar interest for him.

Having seized upon this opportunity, and having obtained a faithful letter-carrier, who was soon to return into England, he wrote a long epistle dated the 14th day of May to D. Walsingham the Secretary (as in the previous year he had written to the Queen herself on the same subject) in which he had put together many things concerning the state of his own affairs, *viz.*, that the Emperor and other principal men of the adherents of the Roman Pontiff touched with a feeling of grief at the calumnies uttered, and the evil and erroneous opinions before conceived against him, had suffered much: that they were endeavouring, as well by force as by instilling fear, that he should be drawn into parts the which each one and another followed: that he, from the first conversation held with the Apostolic Nuncio, Malaspina, for a year opposed, and, as if held down by flattery, was altogether opposed to friendship. Rome being disturbed and alarmed by

these new circumstances, then the queen was to be warned; with added threats that a violent death was to be inflicted on her; that she was to be despoiled of her palaces, library and furniture after his departure, and her revenue intercepted; that it behoved them to send into Germany Thomas Digges, as a most suitable man, closely tied to him by an ancient friendship, with whom he might most openly talk in communicating secrets of the utmost importance to the Queen; and finally that she would have better consulted her own interests if she had expended ten hundred thousand pounds of gold, either in almsgiving or in any other way than in not listening to his advice, than to have suffered such opportunities to slip by: Not, however, that all hope had been taken away, because God, in his mercy, had ordained that there should be a means of amending the situation. . . . Thus he wrote with the greatest confidence, as if all these things had been put into his breast by the Holy Spirit. In the meantime whilst he was absent, the Bishop Placentinus recently sent from Rome that he might succeed another Nuncjo, authorised by a very urgent command of the Pontiff, altogether astonished at these novelties everywhere laid open, delivered to the Emperor a Petition in which he accused Dee of Magic and Necromantic Arts, mingling with it warnings, lest from the indulgence so long conceded, either the Christian

Religion or the public tranquility should be violated; petitioning also that he might be removed to Rome. But Dee, ignorant of the danger which hung over his head, when on his return to Prague, had learned not without great horror and extreme sadness, and in order to avert that great danger which instantly pressed upon him, immediately sent letters both to Lord Rosenburg and also to the Emperor: but altogether in vain. For neither did his supplications and intercession avail anything, nor could his piety and prudence any longer be vindicated; since to everyone it was easily apparent that delusions of that sort, unless some favourable accident happened, would spread abroad further, and would have a lamentable end. For the decree of the 19th May in the more secret Council of the Emperor was that after six days Dee and Kelley with their whole families should depart beyond the territories of his Imperial Majesty, under the danger of undergoing the extreme penalty, if they contravened it. All his belongings being packed up, he with the greatest haste made his escape beyond, in a safer place to take new counsel what now in the matter it would be most fitting to be done in this inconvenient and troublous time.

Having proceeded to Erfurt, a city of Thuringia, in that city he was about to hire a house, when he received a denial from the Senators to whom the report of his exile had come, they fearing such a

guest, permission however being yielded of staying there, until he could more conveniently find another. Hither also came Puccius having first had a conversation with the Nuncio, from whom he had received a written safe-conduct, in which he undertook that Dee and his constant companion, if they were willing to go to Rome, there they should be treated with all humanity and charity, according to the plighted faith. After a month or thereabouts applying to them, having before spoken many things as to the benevolence of that Nuncio towards them in their entering upon their journey to Rome, many arguments being brought forward and especially this reward, of which he wished him persuaded that God in a certain Action had declared that they were to go to Rome. But Dee was not so foolish as to fall headlong into the trap laid for him by this spy. It would evidently here be tedious to mix up the altercations carried on by both parties. But when the perfidy of Puccius began to be more and more apparent to Dee from these discourses, he decided that he should be cut off from the Society, on account of this and other causes, for instance, because of his harsh attack in disputing and quarrelsome manner, on account of his foolishness and imprudence rashly allowed himself in revealing secret things, no permission being asked, on account of the undue desire and curiosity of penetrating into things by no means pertaining to him, and

finally, on account of his manners not at all pleasing to their wives, and altogether unworthy longer to remain in that Society, and deservedly, according to the advice before given by the Angels. But lest it should render him altogether estranged from him, he committed the letters to his care to be delivered to the Nuncio Casselis. Afterwards changing his mind, he took calmly this ignominious banishment, being comforted both by the letters of Rosenburg, and also assisted with money, and having obtained such a Patron and Advocate, and being in very great favour with the Emperor, he determined to nourish a good hope in his mind concerning a future return into Bohemia. Which at length by his repeated intercessions was partly effected, the decree being so far revoked, that Dee was permitted to return, only thereafter he was to remain within the borders and circuit of the lands of Lord Burgrave, nor should he wander elsewhere and beyond. Therefore being most kindly invited to the castle of Trebona, the hereditary seat of Rosenburg, he joyful, hastens thither as to a most safe asylum, in the month of September, about to rejoice with the greatest freedom in the fellowship of Dæmons, now for so long a time discontinued.

The six months being finished during which by the Order of the Magistrates, no apparitions had been made, the accustomed Actions at last began to be renewed, in which the dæmons making sport

and amusement, with vain promises they bewitched Rosenburg, he being much excited by these horrible mysteries, and from the too great good nature of his disposition, no longer being master of himself, a compact, doubtless was to be entered into with him, and the celestial mystery also to be revealed. Were there any doubt, from which he could not easily be freed, for instance as to the Polish succession, and the means by which that kingdom might be more easily obtained, of making gold, by whom it was given, of the Powder and whether anything as to that treasure was to be communicated to Cæsar, or he should meet with other things of the most serious importance, Dee directed him when advice was to be asked, to call upon these Oracles, that he might be most certainly informed how he ought to conduct himself. Dee proposed that these questions and others concerning the use and multiplication of that powder, *divinely given*, as he believed, and also concerning St. Dunstan's method of making it, also as to certain private and domestic circumstances before read from a written paper before the Oracle: but it is evidently tedious here to recount the crafty and ambiguous responses, solutions and advice by which they played upon his vain foolishness. So according to his custom, Dee fascinated by the diabolical lies, was hardened in embracing and retaining his errors and dreams. I will not deny that he had been so far pure from base wickedness,

that he had been zealous for probity, earnest in prayers to God, that he had practised great holiness and reverence for the Christian Religion in the midst of these illusions by which he was circumvented. But, behold a most astonishing specimen and example of most deplorable trickery and diabolical tryanny exercised towards him! There appeared in the crystal a white column, upon whose stem the heads of Dee, Kelley and their wives were joined together in one, hanging over under the same crown, their bodies included within as a sign of consecrating by this emblem of the closest union between them, which Dee wished to be understood in a Christian and pious sense, but contrary to the intention of the pseudo-angels, who being consulted upon that matter, interpreted it as not being of spiritual love only and the union of minds, but also of carnal and promiscuous conjunction and concubinage, and they most expressly commanded that it should be done. To Dee it was dreadful, saying that it would be a manifest violation of the Divine Law and the Gospel; but being reproved, he dared to doubt as to this new command whether it could be from God, at length after a long dispute he ceased. His wife, being made aware of this proposition, trembled, ready to weep, vowing she would never consent to such an infamous deed, but being overcome by the subtleties of her husband,

the secret counsels of God, so deluded she felt, almost unwilling, she decided to obey. In the meantime, when they were struggling against it, nor could be easy in their mind, by repeated commands from their Preceptors, and especially from him personating Raphael, yea, and even by Christ himself, which things are horrible to be said, that that advice of the Angels was dictated and delivered by the Angels as a trial of their faith, asserting that it had gone forth from Him, but by no means the doctrine which referred to them alone, and ought to be published to other mortals; and that which they call lawlessness, or iniquity is to be followed out and done with joy, because of the high authority commanding it, for thus he most impiously blasphemed, these four being incited to enter into this solemnity with God, subscribing their names the third of May, 1587, they entered into the pact, deprecating the anger of the offended Deity, inasmuch as they had not consented to it from lasciviousness and the lusts of the flesh, but solely out of regard to the Divine command, from faith and obedience, even as Abraham had formerly done in the proposed slaying of his son. O what deplorable stupidity! O execrable insanity! It would seem incredible that a man well instructed in the Christian Religion, yea, even imbued with only a slight sense of moral virtues, should have been so nearly blind, that he was not able to see

so far as the furthest cord of this foolishness and madness, unless Dee had committed it to writing explained with an ample commentary and made clear by wonderful circumstances. So much indeed was he ashamed of this promiscuous intercourse, that, more certain and sure precautions should be taken lest it should ever become known to any one of mortals, that all impiously entering into this pact swore with a dreadful imprecation uttered solemnly before God, that to each of those four revealing to any one, and also to each and every other person to whom this horrible secret shall be revealed, a sudden death shall be inflicted in that very moment.

Thus far from the Diary of the journey and actions; the papers which ought to have followed embracing the narrative of things carried on after the sojourn at Trebona and neighbouring places (for there Dee dwelled for more than a year and a half) were lost.

The Queen Elisabeth, pitying Dee who from shame or from fear, did not dare to reseek his country from which he had secretly withdrawn, and being unwilling that the disgrace to the English nation from the evil deeds of one or more deserters should further be branded upon it, commanded him by letters despatched by a messenger, to return into England, making no excuse or delay. But he being most desirous of seeing again his native soil and his domestic hearth, which, by the favour and

indulgence of Royalty he was now able to do, joyfully hastened the journey, and having past the great dangers and defrayed the expenses, at the end of the year 1589, after an absence of six years he happily reached his house at Mortlake.

But Dee after his return, not without experiencing grief saw on the one side that the memory of things done before had not faded out of the minds of those in whom he had previously noted it, suspicions but little, whilst he was absent, laid to sleep, now at last break forth and burn again, atrocious calumnies and charges brought against him at Court; scoffs hurled at him on the highway; from whom, if by chance it had happened, boys playing in the streets, were wont to run away as if frightened, as though it were from a Magician, whom in English we call a conjuror. The Prelates also and other ecclesiastics were greatly incensed against him because of the unlawful arts to which from his youthful years he had devoted himself. On the other side, diminished revenue, no reparation as yet made for the loss inflicted on him by a tumultuous mob; domestic affairs becoming worse: that he, though at his first approach received by the Queen with a smiling face, was not as yet a partaker of either an annual pension, nor of any rich appointment; finally, soon to be deprived of all support to nourish his family, and about to perish of hunger, unless the benevolence of

the Queen and of friends presently relieved him with money sent privily; for which reason, that he might more conveniently obviate these evils coming upon him, in a supplicating petition of the 9th November, 1591, for that being worn out by a tedious expectation for three years, and forced to do something, he most earnestly besought of the Queen from what he showed, that she would vouchsafe to appoint, two or three Commissioners, who, themselves by justly representing his circumstances, might know them by a rigid searching out and examination. She consenting and ordering it, two most honourable men, John Woolley, Secretary of the Latin Letters, and Thomas Gorge, of the Queen's Wardrobe, after one week or more appeared at Dee's house, to whom he read a compendium (*) previously made by him, of his life and studies during the space of fifty years, and methodically divided into chapters, with documents, proofs and testimonies to the truth of things, and when it was necessary, it had to be made from books, letters and papers laid out on a table and brought forward before them In which everywhere remarking his deservings of

* The MS. is extant in the Cottonian Library under Vitellius C. vii., which I had found whilst occupied in compiling the Catalogue of that most celebrated Library. From thence I took care it should be copied by my Amanuensis: hence the first opportunity of describing his life was derived, being at that time altogether ignorant that another copy of his autograph was extant elsewhere.

his country, his literary abilities, and the Queen herself, and the promises so often repeated, made in vain and violated, of the loss which he had sustained from the pillaging of his house and library, and from the present almost dearth of all things, at length, in the name of himself, his wife and seven children, he most humbly and earnestly beseeches that they would be willing to intercede with the Queen, that out of her clemency and kindness she would give relief equal to this intolerable evil.

But neither the Queen, nor her Counsellors, nor the Bishops, from the prejudices nourished in the depths of their minds, conceded anything to these importunate petitions. Dee therefore, having a clear insight as to whence that severity took its origin, in order that he might clear himself of all impeachment and suspicion of Magic, under which he laboured, took care to send written Apologetical letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury at the beginning of the year 1595, in which he asseverated in the most solemn manner, under the danger of the damnation of his soul, that he in prosecuting his studies in Philosophy had hitherto used and was now still using the sole good, lawful, honest, Christian and divinely prescribed reason and method (for under this name of Philosophy it so far pleased him to conceal his impious curiosity that long before he had been accustomed to boast himself as

being a good Christian Philosopher): that he made this defence not so much that the mouth of the barkers being shut, he could set himself to meet the foolish, impious and false rumours, calumnies and fables spread everywhere through England, as that he might by that means satisfy good and honest men from his long curriculum of studies, and from the series, number and arguments of his books written during forty years which he here recounts. Notwithstanding not one word does he say as to his intercourse with spirits, whether in England, or beyond England; and he craftily conceals his books copied with his own hand concerning the doctrines and revelations of Angels. Otherwise he had openly disclosed his own folly and madness, that of one who had allowed himself to be so stupidly imposed upon, as well as the impiety of one who dared to ascribe those horrible secrets contained in those books, to God and the good Angels. Whence to no one ought it to appear wonderful, if from this persuasion, although most false and most foolish, fastened upon his inmost marrow, that he fell into that madness, to that startling oath, by which he vows the eternal perdition of his soul unless he shall have spoken the truth, which he was forced to employ in defence of his injured good fame.

But the Queen whether softened by this specious defence, or rather touched with pity towards an

old man now verging on seventy years (whom she was accustomed merrily to call her own Philosopher) now reduced to extremities with his numerous family, promoted him in that very year by Letters Patent to the Government of the College of Manchester in the County of Lancaster, Hugo Belotus, his predecessor, being a little time before promoted to the Episcopate of Chester.

Here he lived for seven years, not only comfortably, but magnificently, with great fame indeed, but not equally good, inasmuch as he was harrassed by malignant censures and infamous suspicions from the study of secret Philosophy, which he continually kept before him: intent on performing his office with such great industry, prudence and open profession of religion, that thence no opening might be given for incrimination by making a scandal. For not into this account ought to be referred the quarrels which he had with his associates, whether concerning the monies accruing from the yearly revenue to be divided amongst them, or whether from the government, which was not according to his sole arbitrament, but managing it by mutual counsels. Also the townspeople and the country folk so sillily, I will say, deemed him to be so much above the ordinary run of mortals that if they believed that any in that part of the country were obsessed or tormented by the wiles of witches, they flocked to him as to a most potent

exorcist, imploring his good help, until the praise of the common people being turned into a reproach, he repudiated altogether this power over dæmons ascribed to him; in the meantime kindly advising them that in the providing for overcoming such great evils, for relief they should go to consult the ministers of sacred things. But lest those suspicions everywhere believed in, by no subtlety, by no earnest and solemn words were to be abated, and also were gaining belief with the new king, which Dee could not do otherwise than suppose would end in great disgrace and loss to himself, he took care to be shown to King James suppliant petitions together with apologetic letters to be put into his own hand, now at last defending himself, on the 5th day of June, 1604, in which he again protests with the greatest earnestness that he is pure and innocent of all crime of magic: that he offers himself to be examined in his presence and his Counsellors according to the ordinances of the kingdom then assembled, concerning those rumours and suspicions, under which he had laboured from their being reported all over England, and that if he had had any intercourse with dæmons, if he were adjudged as being guilty of practising Magic by the votes of the Assessors and Judges he would be under the penalty of death to be without pity inflicted either by the punishment of burning alive, or by stoning, or by burying alive. Thus he most

pertinaciously and madly persisted in that most false and impious opinion as to his familiar Friends, whom he believed to be good Angels sent by God, not to be disgraced under the infamous title of Dæmons. But the most serene king than whom no one more execrated diabolical arts hidden under whatever veil, or with a more solid judgment or a keener zeal according to the manner of his life and his studies under Lord Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, and Treasurer of England, by whose wise counsels he was guided in the difficult matters of the kingdom, being by him instructed, did, as it appears, despise the man, and judged him to be evidently unworthy of the Royal grace and favour for his piety and learning.

At length therefore, whether discouraged by the evils of advanced age, whether rather overwhelmed by the taunts and scoffs, wantonly levelled at him, he left Manchester in the month of November, 1604, there being reserved to him, by special permission, the revenue and salary of the Præfecture, again to seek his own house at Mortlake.

In the month of March, 1606, Dee suffering from calculus and other maladies, oppressed by extreme poverty, and agitated by the sorrows of a wounded spirit, but having obtained a new interpreter of these oracles, who was also a Seer, Bartholomew Hickmann (in whose place, if by chance he happened to be absent, or could not longer stay in England,

an intimate friend of Dee, John Pontesius, lately returned from Poland, and addicted to chymical experiments and curious arts, earnestly asked to be substituted), Raphael personated, appearing alone, as in the following Actions, and commanded him to be of good courage, and that he would be sure to recover his health, and by renewed promises concerning the understanding the Stone of the Philosophers and the knowledge of the Book of St. Dunstan, also concerning miracles to be performed by him, as also concerning other mysteries and secrets of Divine Wisdom to be revealed to him, that no mortal ever except Enoch either had or will have, such and so great degrees of the knowledge of celestial things. As to the future he undertakes at repeated Actions, that having settled his affairs and left his country, as soon as possible, he should in the Name of God seek other countries, and further, imparted that he was to be his perpetual companion as he had formerly been to Tobias; that Earl Salisbury was stirred up against him, as judged to be a Magician, by Devils whom he names, that he was carried away by an implacable hatred towards him, and was contriving plots for his certain destruction; wherefore he must hasten out of England if he wished to be safe. In the meantime, Dee proposed many doubts to be solved, such as concerning borrowed monies, and also as to his silver vessels carried off by theft, concerning

the finding of buried treasure, concerning obtaining a safe-conduct, concerning the companions of his journey, and especially which way it should be decided upon to go and with the greatest convenience: to which amongst other things which I deem are best omitted, it was answered, that all that, whether he chose Germany or any other country, must solely depend upon his own judgment: wherever he might be, he would be provided for and taken care of and whatsoever was most suitable to be done, would there be taught him. Of these Actions which began in the preceding March, the last was performed on the 7th of September. But not long after, whilst he was preparing all things necessary for setting out on his journey, the most miserable Dee, as yet confined to his own house, his disease increasing more and more, completed the course of his life in the eighty-first year of his age. Thus indeed by those fatal illusions, in which he had bound up his mind for fifty years without any perception of his most deplorable foolishness, he seems to have been killed, and lies buried within the chancel of the Parish Church, of whose fabric both in repairing and ornamenting he had well deserved. His name which will remain to all posterity, some will read with honour on account of his very great skill in Mathematics; others from a consideration for human infirmity, and making excuse for his too great credulity, will

pity him; but others on account of his impious zeal and earnest endeavour to bring a new religion into the world will hold him in hatred, horror and execration.

Thus far I have described briefly indeed and closely the history of the life and studies of John Dee. But when many things which help to illustrate both, lest the series of the narration, everywhere mixed up in them, should be interrupted, I have purposely and providentially omitted, those I will recite in this appendix, as in a more convenient place, and also in a short compendium.

As to what relates to his paternal lineage, Dee could boast that he was of a noble and ancient family, having its origin in Wales, if he properly enumerated amongst his ancestors Roderick the Great and Hoel Dha, *i.e.*, the Good, Princes of Wales and both of the highest fame with their own nation, and then Rhesus of immortal memory, and other men of great renown in a long series (if faith is to be placed in a genealogical chart produced by him) continued even down to David, the great grandfather of our John. But here the surname, Dey, which in English signifies black, was first brought into the family; which soon was modified into the softer sound Dee, passed as characteristic to his son Bedo, the nephew Roland and pro-nephew John. But since it would be an unnecessary labour and altogether foreign to the subject longer

to dwell upon the investigating and reciting the studies of all these things, the things done, and the accidents of life, if the exact material were available, I will mention only one of the later nephews. He is Francis Dee, a grand-child's grandson of Bedo, formerly a Fellow of the College of St, John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge, who after passing through some grades of Ecclesiastical dignities, was made Dean of the Church at Chichester and at last was promoted to the episcopal bench of Peterborough. He was a man truly venerable and eminently deserving of his high appointment and a credit to the College in which he was educated; he breathed out his pious soul in the year 1638. Concerning Arthur the eldest son of our John, it will be related further on.

Although Dee by some in published books and by our forefathers in familiar conversation about him is most commonly called Doctor, whether of Medicine, or as some think, of Theology: it however certainly is proved that he was content with the laurel of M.A., which he had formerly gained in the University of Cambridge, that he had neither sought for nor wished to obtain the higher degree and title in the University, whether ours or a foreign one. In the records of the College, of which he had chief charge, as to the income pertaining to elocutions, as is shown by the Register, he is always called Master of Arts; nor is it prejudicial to this

statement that in the parchment roll in which the names and the family crests painted in a long series are contained, from Thomas La Ware, Priest, and afterwards his elder brother departing this life without male issue, a Parliamentary Baron in the time of King Henry the Fifth, the founder, even to John Dee, above the proper designation of his family is inscribed in English, M. Goannes Dee, Doctor in Mathematics; on the other part he is the Royal Mathematician: since this title was given to him "honoris causâ," conferred on him because of his passing skill in the Mathematical Sciences, never by any public authority by which the Professors of other Faculties are distinguished with the Doctorate.

Now Dee sometimes calls that crystalline globe, the Show-stone or Skry-stone, sometimes the Stone of Manifestation, the Sacred Stone; also the Mystical Stone, and finally the Receptacle. After the Operations* with it, there very often appeared on the opposite side of it a golden curtain, sometimes also a white veil, both produced by the contrivance of dæmons. He had most foolishly believed that this stone had been given into his hands by an Angel. It will therefore to no one appear wonderful that a short time before his death he called this

* The Latin word is *actio*. We now call it *séance*. At Cambridge a public controversy is now called an Act; probably from this word Actio.

celestial gift his Gem, and held it in the highest honour and reverence. Lest, therefore, it should be touched, as it were, by impure hands, when it was necessary to remove it from one place to another, or, from the roundness of the material might fall on the floor, or, from the smoothness of the glass this accident might happen, he took especial care to have a small mechanical contrivance made of gold in which it might remain fixed in a frame exactly fitting it. Assurance indeed being first given in concise words that no evil spirit, to whose deceits and illusions it might have been liable, should enter into it, when Kelley would have preferred to hold conversation with Angels outside the crystal, floating, as it were, in the liquid air and balancing themselves. For this reason Dee forbade it, lest deceit might be practised from it, although he afterwards confessed that a certain dæmon in the form of a huge Molossan dog* of a black colour had appeared within it, pretending that he was a good Angel: whom therefore with revilings he called the infernal dog. But with these doubts often entering into his mind, and as often vanishing by the guile of the dæmons, by the renewed promise of the feigned Michael that no unclean thing should ever in future invade that vessel, Dee falls back into his former madness,

* Molossia, a district of Epirus, famous for its breed of dogs called Molossi.

although soon after a certain dæmon of that sort, in whom the people of the earth will be cursed, *i.e.*, Antichrist, as he interprets it, appearing in the crystal made himself visible.

In the next place comes to be noted Mensa Fæderis, in English the " League Table " or " Table of Covenant " whose whole fabric he largely describes as to its form and dimensions together with various lines, figures and dimensions and characters, especially, as he had been taught by Gabriel. Besides, that figure which occupies the centre of the Table, composed of oblong squares, in each of which cut crosswise, unknown characters are engraved, being always the same, is called " *Sigillum Dei*," never to be looked at but with the greatest reverence, upon which in all Operations, the Mystical Stone was to be placed. That very Table, which we may truly call Magical, exists to this day in the Cottonian Library; nor will there need any further description of it, whose likeness engraved in brass before the history of these Operations was written, was published by Dr. Casaubon.

To this Table appertained a peculiar sacred, as it is called, Apparatus, that is to say, a coverlet, a white linen cloth spread over it, a desk, a candlestick, a wax candle burning at the time of Operation, a shrine, in which red Crosses were interwoven, all of which were kept, as is the custom, in the Oratory devoted to these horrible mysteries: which it was

not lawful for any but the initiated to enter, if we give willing ears to their fables. For when a certain servant of Lasco had broken violently into the chapel of the house at Mortlake destined for these uses, on account of the impious profanation of the Sanctuary, the angry avengers of these violated rites foretold that he would be drowned after a few months.

Besides that famous crystal above mentioned, which is called the first sanctified and principal one, there appears to have been another very like it. It is reported that he also made use of other glass globes smaller in form, which are in frequent use with the Magi. It is believed these were supplied privately to Dee; but whether made by art, or whence they were brought, not any one, so far as I know, has shown in any published work.

If we contemplate his morals and the external course of his life, not anything disgraceful or dishonourable can be alleged against him; seeing that he was sober, of a sedate disposition, and quiet manners, free from all luxury and gluttony, most desirous of what is just and good, kind to the poor, easy of access and courteous to his neighbours, whose disputes he was wont to moderate and determine, both of the contending parties appealing to him as to a wise arbiter: frequent in attending public worship and in prayer, a strenuous asserter of the articles of the Christian Faith in which all

Orthodox Christians agree, burning with zeal against heretics condemned by the primitive Church, and inveighing most sharply against Puccius who called in doubt the virginity of the Blessed Mary before the birth of Christ: although he was not so scrupulously anxious about the controversies between the Romanizers and the Reformers as to the remaining heads of the doctrine, but that in Poland and Bohemia where that religion is dominant and flourishes, he thought it was lawful for him to be present at the Mass and to communicate; in England as before, so after his return, he conformed to all the rites of the English Church. All therefore, not without cause, will wonder that a man endowed with such gifts and moral attributes, could have lapsed into such madness as that with which he raged. But what I have said above, and it seems here necessary again to repeat it, is that an immoderate desire of wisdom and the undue love of the science of the secrets of God and of Nature, rendered him especially liable to these illusions of malignant Spirits. These he acknowledged as being his Masters and Teachers. He solemnly gives thanks to God for the vocation and election, peculiar to himself, to this blessed state and condition; and he prays God that he may be worthy of such sacred visitors. Certainly this impious and fallacious opinion had sunk so deeply into his very marrow, that they were good Angels, that by no reasonings,

by no arguments, could it ever be plucked out. Kelley being wiser on this matter, who sometimes expressly asserted that they were dæmons, and often indeed being doubtful in his mind, was unwilling to have any intercourse with them; yea, and refused all further disturbance from the sealed-up tablets: but as often reproved by Dee because he had distrusted these celestial revelations, and offering his soul as a pledge and bond, with importunate prayers and supplications, with great difficulty and in a manner unwilling, yet brought back to that impious office which he again undertook. It cannot be disputed that Dee oftentimes nourished doubts in his own mind. For he had known that the most illustrious man, Lord Henry Sidney, in the secret counsels of Queen Elisabeth, who had most prudently and happily governed the kingdom of Ireland in her name and authority, and had sufficiently admitted whilst yet he was amongst the living, that the Pseudo-Angels, although asserting as from a most certain and infallible oracle, had basely lied, which crime of falsity by them when it was exposed, this excuse was accepted as a legitimate proof and argument for their harmless truth, *viz.*, either that Kelley had badly understood their words, or that some malignant spirit, whilst they were absent, occupying the glass globe had dictated this fable and lie, he easily resumed his favourable opinion of these imposters. The miserable Dee had

known, and been convinced by very many examples, confessed that evil spirits were accustomed to operate in others, by which wonderful tricks he was played upon in a horrible manner, and also that apparitions of these had before been made in his own crystal; in which they enacted wonderful and jocular sports, like those of mountebanks and jugglers: of whom one habited as a ridiculous and silly dæmon, he himself called a liar, whom having pronounced, by way of reproach, the proverb "It behoves a liar to have a good memory," ordered him to depart thence: and nevertheless he most foolishly decided that all these things had been put forward by the fraud of dæmons desiring to instil into his mind by a subtle artifice scruples as to the truth of these Actions. Nor was he willing that anything of evil should be suspected as to his own spiritual friends, as he calls them. But they, lest by any means Dee should be freed from his folly, resolved that they must exert themselves and take the utmost pains; for very often they inculcate with most pressing assurances that all doubting must be banished, that they were good Angels and administering messengers of God, into whose society he and Kelley were admitted, and at last that these illuminations flowed from the voices and presence of Holy Angels. Yea, pseudo-Uriel to make his faith more sure, having invoked the Name of God, swears that he is the true Uriel,

the light and servant of God: concerning these Divine Revelations made to himself and Kelley, whom he said were Prophets, and sanctified for the coming of the Lord, they must continue in the surest belief; that whatever should be communicated by them would certainly come to pass: nor that one smallest letter of that prophecy shall perish: and also that from these books the true doctrine of the Apostles and Prophets could be collected. The same thing said also the pseudo-Raphael, so long as heaven and earth shall last, the memory of these operations shall never be obliterated; also pseudo-Gabriel, that this doctrine delivered and to be delivered to them was ordained to be in use amongst all nations even to the end of the world.

Dee, induced by this most false persuasion, not carelessly, not rashly, or by a sudden and precipitate impulse, gave himself up to these Actions, but with a pious, and as it seems a sedate disposition, and approached them prepared with a sober mind, and if sometimes any remarkable Action were to be performed, at which was present Stephen, King of Poland, by his confession, that he might have a peaceful and clear conscience, and might be rendered more fitting to receive these celestial mysteries, first performed, he communicated thrice in the Paschal Feast, preceded always by a prayer to God, with pious ejaculations and wishes interposed,

and at the end with a solemn doxology and rendering thanks to the triune God

Now then, by what wiles and subtleties the dæmons deluded him, which before I only just pointed out, I will here more clearly show.

In order that to Dee eagerly panting after the secrets of Divine Wisdom, the impostor-Angels might with greater and more certain success ply their wiles, they put before him things of this sort: that what had hitherto been concealed from the just and holy, to him had been revealed and were still further to be revealed; that certain barbarous words composed from the varying connexion of the letters out of the language whose familiar use and knowledge Adam had in his state of innocence, which being lost after the Fall, and altogether blotted out from his memory, he the Protoplast of our race, driven out of Paradise, being evidently deprived of his language, was obliged to learn the Hebrew tongue: that to no mortal, except to him and Kelley was it given to have revealed to him the thirty regions disposed in a locality set apart between the spirits who inhabit the air expanded by the element of fire distributed as far as the earth, and the universal world of twelve Angels who preside over as many tribes. These direct a ministering king to compose tables both of the letters and the numbers which they feign to be the keys of the mansions of God in number xlix., in

which the mystical words of the Angels are contained; whence also the perfect knowledge of the creatures of God and the Cabbalah of Nature were to be learned: to whom being opened, the fitted Angelical keys were to be delivered. The book of Enoch covered all over with mystical figures, and withdrawn from human sight into darkness, embracing the true use of the creatures of God and of the whole earth, in composing which, an Angel directing and instructing him, he laboured for full fifty days, was to Dee to be unfolded by Uriel, also many other celestial secrets thereafter to be revealed to him, and especially a Book containing various invocations of the Names of God, formed in the sacred language, they promise to be described, so that Dee being clearly and altogether demented by these deceits, and most foolishly persuading himself that these revelations had been given by God, he impiously twisted, as showing approval, certain passages of the Old and New Testament, to those visions and diabolical representations, such as had formerly been attained to by St. John in the Apocalypse and by Esdras.'

But when Dee was inflamed with the desire of foreknowing the future, to the certain knowledge of which the powers of human ingenuity and of the most sagacious mind clearly must fail to attain, the same impostors wished partly to flatter this most vain curiosity and to humour him either by

foretelling things to come or by lying. For a great plenty of predictions everywhere spread about in the Actions, is prominently shown, from which number I will pick out a few, not keeping any order of time: for instance, that the Emperor Rudolph in the course of the then revolving year would die a violent death: that Ernest, his brother, would succeed him in the Imperial Dignity, and that that family would continue only to the child of the third generation: that Stephen, King of Poland, having entered into a battle would be killed in the month of September in the year 1585. That the Turkish Empire would be altogether overturned, and the standard erected in the middle of Constantinople in the year 88, the century indeed being omitted; that the sun would then change its motion to the contrary point of the heavens, that certain stars would fall from heaven: that Antichrist would come before three years were passed (Dee was half doubting whether that prophecy was to be understood as to natural years, or indeed concerning mystical years consisting of forty-two months), and that Rome was to be altogether overthrown, not one stone indeed being left remaining upon another: that the Pope would put off this life during the solemnities of the Mass, and that he who was to take his place would be the fifteenth assuming the name: that the king of Spain would depart this life before the end of two years:

21824 KK.n.29

and about the same time Queen Elisabeth struck by a blow from heaven would perish: and that Emeric Sontag, the Secretary of Lasco, because of his broken faith would kill himself with his own hand: lastly (for it grieves me to relate more of these monstrous things) also that Dee himself and Kelley would be removed from out this life, but to rise immediately from the dead. When Dee taught by the most manifest experience that all these were glaring lies, nor to any one of those prophecies had a like event responded at the prescribed time and in the course of the following life, who would not have expected that he would at once have been recalled from that absurd and impious credulity by which he had been so long hood-winked, at length convinced by proofs of that sort, would have returned to his wits from the evidence of those tricks and wiles, by which for so many years he was kept captive at their will and pleasure? But oh, the greatly to be deplored blindness and insanity of the man! He clearly sinking, and deprived of all sense and intelligence of Divine things, was hardened in his fatal errors to the very last.

When it was said above that Dee had preserved a sound and right judgment concerning the principal articles of the Christian Faith, no one will wonder that the Impostors were both frequent and diligent in asserting the mysteries of the most holy Trinity and the Divinity of Jesus Christ:

for otherwise they would have repelled him and rendered themselves greatly suspected. But in the remaining Theological dogmas, such as concerning transubstantiation, confession, penitence, controversies between the Papists and the Reformed, they contend for the doctrine of the Roman Church, animadvert upon Luther, Calvin and other apostates of the same kind, as they consider them to be, and advise him that it must be adhered to, that the Scriptures are even to be read, but not perverted, with an evil interpretation, nor understood in a private sense. The which did not displease Dee, who protested in an epistle to the Bishop Placentinus that he was a good Roman Catholic, inasmuch as both himself and his associate had been the most obedient and most humble sons of the most Holy Church and most regardful of the highest Roman Pontiff in the solemn offices of the sacred worship, whilst he was absent in that long stay far from his country.

In other theological affairs of various argument it is easy to behold in every Action how often it is treated as to revealing the mysteries, that many and false things are concealed under turgid words and conceits, and to have intermingled with them things very greatly foreign to the truth as much of religion as of Nature, that they might the more easily and securely deceive their own priests. In the meantime being but little versed in Geography and the science of natural philosophy and the Greek and

Latin languages, which they were accustomed frequently to use in Actions, at least they were unskilled in the proprieties and elegances of the same, as face for fac, *Angele mee.* And nevertheless they are those whom Dee reverenced with the greatest esteem and loyalty as though they were most skilled in all sciences as well natural as divine, and according to his folly held them as being infallible Masters.

Two memorable cases seem not a little to help the more strongly to produce this obstinacy.

In the Action of the 10th April, 1586, held at Prague, Dee was commanded that he should bring all the books, in number 28, in which as I have above stated, he had written most accurately with his own hand the history of the revelations made to him from the beginning up to that time, and then should cast them altogether into a burning fire placed near, to be totally consumed by the flames. Not having in the least dared to disobey this command which had been imperative, although in his mind very greatly reluctant, he made no delay, but indeed used all diligence, lest otherwise he should be deemed guilty of a violation of the Divine Will. Thus all that labour taken and expended through so many years in collecting these secrets was seen to perish in a few moments before his eyes. Without doubt Dee deplored his irreparable loss with grief, with groans and with tears, as

though it were the manifestation of the angry Deity; all hope of regaining the same revelations, or of obtaining new ones, vanishing and being cut off. Nevertheless, on the 19th day of the same month, being advised by a spirit in the form and dress of the gardener who dressed the vine upon a neighbour's house, being so clothed that he might descend thither with Kelley, after they had sat together for a short time in a convenient place, Dee seeing close by a sheet of white paper blown hither and thither by the wind, running hastily to catch it, found three of the burned books strewn on the ground under an almond tree, *viz.*, the Book of Enoch, the forty Angelical Keys, at first written in the Angelical language, and then done into English, and the book of the collection of the thirty airs, whose Title was The Book of Terrestrial Science, of Help and of Victory. Kelley immediately approaching, both on bended knees returned the highest thanks to God on account of this fact and miracle, as they termed it, to be remembered for ever, they being without measure astonished that they were preserved and unhurt and whole, untouched by any change of colour or smell passed upon them.

Soon after, Kelley, the same spirit-gardener going before him, first of all to the house, the gates of the offices, as it is shown, opening of their own accord, and there, being led to the furnace, from him,

with his face towards the door, brought back all the rest of the books, except one or two soon to be restored, reached out to him from behind and received by Dee who was awaiting the result of this apparition. All these things Dee immediately set down in his commentaries, all the circumstances being most accurately noted, and in the following July transmitted to the above named Apostolical Nuncio the principal heads and a summary of this extraordinary event.

Another supernatural occurrence, or by whatever name it may be called, which happened to Dee whilst he was staying at Trebona in the year 1587, is as follows:—

Whilst he on the 24th day of April was at an Action in his Oratory, *that Principal Crystal*, concerning which he was accustomed to boast as though it were a celestial gift, together with its golden support, was carried off by a certain spirit, being a little before elevated on high. But after a month Dee and Kelley walking in the garden, the latter saw two (spirits) near the banks of the river fighting with swords, of whom one scolds the other, because of his neglect of an office enjoined upon him as to restoring the crystal, and orders him to replace the same under the pillow of the bed of Dee's wife as soon as possible. The order was so given, which Dee having understood, rushed instantly to his bedchamber, and having searched the bed, in which at

that time his wife lay ill, having removed the pillow, with glad eyes saw and found *his precious crystal.* Thus by these frauds and tricks of the Dæmons did he allow himself to be stupidly imposed upon.

It hardly seems to be doubted but that some portion of the gold-making powder must have helped Dee and Kelley: but whence they obtained it does not so clearly appear; for neither the former nor the latter ever attained to this wonderful art, although both being most studious of chymistry, either by their own industry or instructed by seducing spirits, had endeavoured through many years to find it out. They say, and not indeed without some likeness to and appearance of truth, that in digging amongst some rubbish in a field in Somersetshire belonging to Glastonbury Abbey, they had formerly found a certain vessel in which that powder was inclosed; near it being placed a book full of hieroglyphical figures, to interpret and explain which Dee perspired in vain in making the attempt. But he protests his belief sincerely and as in the presence of God, that with respect being had whether to the quantity or the price or the value of that treasure, all the wealth of Christian kings collected together and heaped up could not equal a tenth part of it. But afterwards in April, 1587, an evil dæmon, named Ben, assumed to himself the honour of putting that powder into the hands of Kelley.

Whatever it was, it is certain that Lord Rosenberg received from them some portion of this powder (about two ounces) asked for by him. Also that the Count Augsberg, as it seems, being in communication with them was made a partaker of the elixir, some discs of silver, transmuted into it from tin vessels, according to their custom, was cheated by them as relates the son of Dee, concerning whom I shall speak presently, who moreover in a familiar conversation formerly had with that most celebrated and most learned man, Dr. Thomas Brown of Norwich, where both being conjoined from long habit and friendship, professed the Medical Art, often asserted and that indeed conjoined with an oath, that he had twice seen this projection made: however, I will here omit others whether tricks of jugglers, or romances accustomed to be brought forward by our forefathers who cultivated the Alchemic Art even to infatuation. I do not wish to inquire too closely into the circumstances of the case: only will I reserve that the son at that time had not attained the age of nine years, and that the father seemed to be altogether averse to all reason and truth, and if he had brought with him from England so great a treasure of that sort, could he have been reduced to such poverty and extremities, or have been so very improvident, that for his return to his own country he should not have reserved for himself some small part in order to conveniently relieve

the necessities, and his straitened domestic circumstances under which he afterwards laboured and was weighed down.

That Kelley was a necromancer, and a long time since initiated into Magical Arts sufficiently appears from what has been said above; which can be further confirmed by this two-fold proof, because that at that time Lasco being present he of himself undertook to bring up dæmons to appear in visible form, whether to gratify his curiosity, or from a most vain desire of exercising towards them a power which he had. But Dee intervened, and neither would suffer that horrible wickedness to be perpetrated: also because being reproved by Dee's spirits for having had commerce with spirits, he was so far wanting that he either excused it or denied it, as if he were sharply contending that it was altogether lawful to him as if vain glorious. He was of dissolute morals, of a fierce disposition, turbulent and very much inclined to quarrelling: if whether he was slightly provoked, or whether the things had happened contrary to his wish and expectation, he was driven into fury and rage: indulging in wine; by crafts and evil tricks emptying of money and gems the lock-up places of the incautious whom he had deceived with worthless promises; suspected of forging and adulterating the public money, so much so that an order to

apprehend him was issued from the judicial bench: finally, that he was void of all true sense of probity and religion. All these things Dee saw and was sad, and they were well known to him, sore troubled in his mind, in one respect lest he should yield into his dishonesty and disgrace, because he had admitted as an associate to himself a man infamous for rascally and disorderly manners of that sort, and in another respect, lest *that sacred work* to which, so he dreamed with his eyes wide open, they *both were together and conjointly destined*, should be broken off and come to nothing. For this cause, although harrassed with perpetual disputes and quarrels and most seriously offended with base actions done before his very eyes, he often endeavoured and indeed taking great pains, with kind words and most gentle counsels and exhortations to bring him back to a sound and sober state of mind. Thus far as to Kelley's penitence and conversion to God, and of the purpose undertaken of beginning a life according to the law of virtue and religion, and more than once Dee seems to triumph over dæmons cast out from his body: but that it was false the repeated experience of his mind proved, for Kelley, habit and long use being as it were changed into nature, relapses into his former ways. In the meantime, in lucid intervals, which here is fitting to be repeated, he very often doubts as to the visions made in the crystal, whether

they were of good Angels: yea, he asseverates that all those strange appearances are done by the tricks of Dæmons, Dee asserting the contrary with greater sharpness: and at length having resigned the office of Seer, after serious deliberation, he most firmly determined with himself that he would hereafter take no part in them, because that he was reproved by a voice sent from heaven when first he grew tired of so long serving the office. Which having heard Dee was wholly filled full of grief and horror, as if an end were now to be put to future Actions, having consulted his spiritual Masters as to a new Seer, by their advice and command that his son Arthur, a boy not having yet passed the eighth year of his age should be substituted to fill the place of Kelley, in September, 1587, as before, Kelley being near to assist at his initiation, and for three whole days the courses being repeated, a prayer to God being first offered that the new partaker in the mysteries might properly perform his office, consecrated him to this sacred office. But altogether vain: for those spirits whom Dee calls the faithful servants of God, although invited, by no means appeared. At length on the third day by a wonderful good fortune, or by divine direction are the words of Dee, Kelley approached them, no apparition as yet having been made to the boy, and resumed his resigned office. Soon after followed that execrable Action concerning the

allowing the common and promiscuous concubinage of the wives, which I have above related.

Kelley was forthwith unwilling to accompany Dee, about to return to his own country, whether conscious of his crimes or having conceived a hope of repairing his fortunes by a longer stay. On that account he quickly hurried to Prague, in order to conciliate the favour of Rudolph. It is rumoured to have been because of that powder of projection, which surreptitiously taken from Dee he had privately retained for himself. To the Emperor who was much given to chymical experiments, he showed an easier method delivered into his own hands, of extracting gold and silver, perhaps by the exquisite skill of the chymical art, and also out of the more ignoble metallic fossils, in which Hungary and Bohemia abound. Hence being appointed his chymist, he was invested with the title and dignity of Baron in the kingdom of Bohemia in the year 1590. But he did not know how best to utilise this happy and prosperous condition and turn of things: for, he being elated in his mind, and, as some will have it, having by the aid of the elixir acquired and heaped up great riches, he squandered it away in luxury and the vain affectation of magnificence and pomp. Afterwards, however, being convicted of fraud, by which he intended, according to his usual subtlety, to cheat the Emperor who was the kindest patron and favourer, he was

cast into prison there to undergo the punishment of perpetual imprisonment. At length being invited by Queen Elisabeth to return into England, having in vain sought other means of escaping, whilst he was attempting to descend from on high by the aid of a rope by the walls, he fell to the ground; he fractured his legs and badly bruised his loins and after a few days he perished miserably in the year 1595.

It remains that I say a few words about the eldest son, our Arthur John, caring but little for the rest of his numerous family. He having made a marriage with a most excellent lady sprung from a noble family, at Manchester, during the time of his father's governorship there, his judgment maturing with his years, he devoted himself wholly to the studies of Medicine and Chymistry, never afterwards to be neglected. A short time after, being very capable in genius and learning and being desirous of travelling, he was recommended by the most serene James the First, Monarch of Britain, to the Muscovite Cæsar, who had asked for an English medical man to be sent out to him there; he stayed in that palace for eighteen years, with the highest reputation. After his return, being enrolled amongst the sworn medical men of his most serene King Charles I., he had his fixed dwelling during the following years of his life in the City of Norwich, and there having completed a life of more than

seventy years, he underwent his last day about the year 1650, and lies buried in the Church of St. George. Whilst he lived at Moscow, he composed in the Latin language, in the year 1629, a little book, in which are contained notes of especial value gathered here and there from the writings of St. Dunstan, Artephius, Raymond Lully, Arnold de Villanova, Ripley, Dastin, Bernard Count of Trevisan, and of other select and most acute Masters of the Hermetic Philosophy, who had already obtained the perfect knowledge of that grand secret of Nature by their sublime genius and indefatigable industry, aided by a Divine Inspiration, whilst their sons and disciples merely chatter about it. All this he did in a regular, distinct and digested method, with corollaries annexed to each chapter by way of explanation, to this purpose, that those studious of this Divine Art, as he calls it, and in searching out the secrets of Nature, indifferently hidden, as was their custom under the veil of parables, enigmas and equivocal phrases, and that they might be directed better and more easily in finding out and making that most eagerly desired stone. Thus it wonderfully pleased him and he gave himself up to forming, and during his whole life favouring those ideas, so that he told a certain well-known chymist, a Hungarian by nation, on his leaving England, that he certainly had it in his mind, unless the inconveniences of old age had

interposed, for this sole cause, that he might make an attempt at, as he loved to speak, *the solemn process of this great work.* Elias Ashmole took care that this chymical collection, concealing the name under an anagram, and giving it also the title of the Anglican Mercuriophilus, should be published in our vernacular speech in the year 1650, in his preface heaping up magnificent praises upon the Author, as if, in publishing this excellent fruit of genius and industry, he had bound to himself for ever all the lovers and pupils of the Spagyric Art. In the meantime I cannot sufficiently wonder that Dee, the father, had not shown to a son of so great hope, and in his childhood initiated into those horrible rites, when he had grown up to manhood, and seemed fit to be the hearer of those mysteries, the writings, the Actions, and embracing consultations held with spirits, nor had allowed them to be read by him; for neither did any one of those declare that it was known to him (Dr. Brown above mentioned being present) unless perchance, it may be said that he soon after his return from Bohemia had hidden those *relations* under the earth or elsewhere, never to be brought to the light again during his life, unless if they appeared by some accident, under that pretext and from clear proofs of that sort, he should be condemned to capital punishment according to the rigor of the law, as a Magician and propagator of diabolical doctrine.

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